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ABSTRACT

This document presents the hearings before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Ninety-third Congress. Hearings concern the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973. The Act enables the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants to conduct special educational programs and activities designed to achieve educational equity for all students, men and women, and for other related educational purposes. Related document, the House of Representatives hearings, is HE 005 260. (MJM)

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# WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT OF 1973

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# HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

OF THE

## COMMITTEE ON
## LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
## UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

## S. 2518

TO AUTHORIZE THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE TO MAKE GRANTS TO CONDUCT SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE EDUCATIONAL EQUITY FOR ALL STUDENTS, MEN AND WOMEN, AND FOR OTHER RELATED EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

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OCTOBER 17 AND NOVEMBER 9, 1973

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

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SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
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# WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT OF 1973

**WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1973**

U.S. Senate,
Subcommittee on Education of the
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m. in room 4232, Dirksen Office Building, Hon. Walter F. Mondale, presiding pro tempore.

Present: Senator Mondale.

Staff members present: Ellen Hoffman and A. Sidney Johnson, III, professional staff members.

Senator Mondale. I am pleased to call to order this hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Education on S. 2518, the Women's Educational Equity Act. I am grateful to Senator Pell, chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, for allowing me to chair hearings on this bill. I would also like to commend Representative Patsy Mink of Hawaii for her role in developing this legislation and conducting hearings on it in the House of Representatives.

A large portion of my career in the Senate has been devoted to the study of education and to attempts to improve the system and make its benefits accessible to all Americans.

In the 1960's—many years too late—we finally became aware as a Nation of the failure of our educational system to serve the disadvantaged child, the migrant child, the Indian child living on a reservation, the black and Chicano children in inner city ghettos and isolated rural areas.

In the Congress, in the executive branch, and in the education establishment, momentum developed for the creation of new programs that would provide all of these children with the opportunity for a decent education. We passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the Higher Education Act, and other legislation aimed at achieving this goal.

And for nearly 3 years, as chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Equal Education, I studied and saw with my own eyes—on trips across the country—the human tragedies resulting from discriminatory educational policies.

There is no question that, for a Nation of immigrants, education has been a key factor in the achievement of economic and social well-being.

So it has been a very unsettling experience for many of us to learn—as a result of the work done in recent years by the women's movement—that for years the educational system has actually been discriminating against the majority of our population—women.

The evidence of this discrimination is both abundant and convincing. I am confident that witnesses testifying on this bill will provide us with some of this well-documented evidence.

Congress recognized the validity of the evidence of discrimination last year, when it enacted legislation prohibiting sex discrimination in all educational institutions—except private, undergraduate, one-sex colleges. When guidelines for this new program known as Title IX go into effect, we will have a mechanism for assuring compliance in institutions that now discriminate. But, as the civil rights movement has so clearly demonstrated, it is only through affirmative action that we eliminate discriminatory policies and replace them with equitable ones.

I consider the legislation before the subcommittee today a logical complement to Title IX. It would provide support for a wide variety of programs seeking to eliminate discrimination in many phases of education. Textbook and curriculum revision, inservice and preservice training, and similar actvities are simply not getting enough support now from private sources to have a widespread effect.

I have been impressed by the interest and enthusiasm about this bill demonstrated by a broad range of education and women's organizations, and I look forward to the testimony they will present.

[The bill referred to follows:]

93d CONGRESS
1st Session

# S. 2518

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

October 2, 1973

Mr. Mondale (for himself, Mr. Abourezk, Mr. Hart, Mr. Hathaway, Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Schweiker, and Mr. Williams) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

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# A BILL

To authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants to conduct special educational programs and activities designed to achieve educational equity for all students, men and women, and for other related educational purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

Section 1. This Act may be cited as the "Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973".

Sec. 2. (a) The Congress hereby finds and declares that present educational programs in the United States are inequitable as they relate to women of all cultural and ethnic groups and limit their full participation in American society.

(b) It is the purpose of this Act, in order to provide educational equity for women in this country, to encourage the development of new and improved curriculums; to demonstrate the use of such curriculums in model educational programs and to evaluate the effectiveness thereof; to provide support for the initiation and maintenance of programs concerning women at all levels of education (preschool through adult education); to disseminate instructional materials and other information for use in educational programs throughout the Nation; to provide training programs for parents, teachers, other educational personnel, youth and guidance counselors, community leaders, labor leaders, industrial and business leaders, and government employees at the State, Federal, and local level; to provide for the planning of women's resource centers; to provide improved career, vocational, and physical education programs; to provide for community education programs; to provide programs on the status, roles, and opportunities for women in this society; and to provide for the preparation and dissemination of materials for use in mass media.

(c) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as prohibiting men from participating in any of the activities funded.

SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby establish within the Office of Education a Council on Women's Educational Programs (hereinafter referred to as the "Council") consisting of twenty-one members (including not less than twelve women) appointed by the President. The Council shall consist of persons broadly representative of the public and private sectors with due regard to their knowledge and experience relating to the role and status of women in American society, and with due consideration being given to geographical representation. The Director of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, the Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and the Director of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Women's Action Program shall serve as ex officio members of the Council. The Council shall be provided with adequate staff and facilities to carry out its duties as prescribed by this Act.

(b) The President shall appoint one member of the Council to serve as its Chairman. The Chairman shall be compensated at a rate not to exceed the maximum rate prescribed for grade GS-17 in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.

(c) The remaining twenty members of the Council shall serve without compensation, except that they shall be allowed travel and subsistence expenses while actually engaged in the business of the Council as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

(d) The members of the Council shall serve for terms of three years each, except that the initial appointments shall be made in accordance with procedures designed to allow for the staggering of appointments so that the member or members whose terms expire in any year will be approximately the same as the number of members whose terms expire in any other year.

(e) The Council shall—

(1) advise the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") concerning the administration of, preparation of, general regulations for, and operations of, programs assisted under this Act;

(2) make recommendations to the Secretary with respect to the allocation of any funds pursuant to this Act, with due respect to the criteria developed to insure an appropriate geographical distribution of approved programs and projects throughout the Nation;

(3) develop criteria for the establishment of program priorities;

(4) develop programs and procedures for review of projects assisted under this Act annually; and

(5) develop and disseminate an annual independent report of the programs and activities authorized under this Act.

SEC. 4. (a) The Council shall advise, review and make recommendations for the administration of the programs authorized by this Act, and the coordination of activities within the Federal Government which are related to women's educational programs.

(b) The Secretary shall annually present to the Council a design for a program of making grants to, and contracts with, institutions of higher education, State and local educational agencies, regional research organizations, and other public and private nonprofit agencies, organizations, and institutions (including libraries and museums) to support research, demonstration, and pilot projects designed to fulfill the purposes of this Act; and shall carry out a program of grants and contracts for such purposes in accordance with the policies of the Council; except that no grant may be made other than to a nonprofit agency, organization, or institution.

(c) Funds appropriated for grants and contracts under this section shall be available for (but not limited to) such activities as—

(1) the development of curriculums;

(2) dissemination of information to public and private pre-school, elementary, secondary, higher, adult, and community education programs;

(3) the support of women's educational programs at all educational levels;

(4) preservice and inservice training programs;

(5) projects including courses of study, fellowship programs, conferences, institutes, workshops, symposiums, and seminars;

(6) research, development, and dissemination of curriculums, texts and materials, nondiscriminatory tests, and programs for adequate and nondiscriminatory vocational education and career counseling for women;

(7) development of new and expanded programs of physical education and sports activities for women in all educational institutions;

(8) planning and operation of women's resource centers;

(9) community education programs concerning women, including special programs for adults;

(10) preparation and distribution of materials;

(11) program or projects to recruit, train, and organize and employ professional and other persons, and to organize and participate in women's educational programs;

(12) research and evaluation of the effectiveness of such programs;

(13) research and development of programs aimed at increasing the number of women in administrative positions at all levels in institutions of education;

(14) research and development of programs aimed

at obtaining and maintaining an adequate distribution of instructors, counselors, and other professionals of both sexes in educational institutions;

(15) training, educational, and employment programs for unemployed and underemployed women; and

(16) research and development of programs aimed at increasing the proportion of women in fields in which they have not traditionally participated.

(d) In addition to the activities specified in this section, such funds may be used for projects designed to demonstrate, test, and evaluate the effectiveness of any such activities, whether or not assisted under this Act.

(e) Financial assistance under this section may be made available only upon application to the Secretary. Any such application shall be submitted at such time, in such form, and containing such information as the Secretary shall prescribe by regulation and shall be approved only if it—

(1) provides that the activities and services for which assistance is sought will be administered by, or under the supervision of, the applicant;

(2) describes a program for carrying out one or more of the purposes of this Act which holds promise of making a substantial contribution toward attaining such purposes;

(3) sets forth policies and procedures which assure that Federal funds made available under this Act for any fiscal year will be used so as to supplement and, to the extent practical, increase the level of funds that would, in the absence of such Federal funds, be made available by the applicant for the purposes described in this section, and in no case supplant such funds;

(4) sets forth policies and procedures which insure adequate evaluation of the activities intended to be carried out under the application;

(5) provides for such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the applicant under this Act;

(6) provides for making an annual report, and such other reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Secretary may reasonably require, and for keeping such records and affording such access thereto as the Secretary may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports; and

(f) For the purposes of this section, the Secretary shall require evidence that an organization or group seeking funds shall have been in existence one year prior to the submission of a proposal for Federal funds and that it shall submit an annual report to the Secretary on Federal funds expended.

The Secretary may waive such one-year existence requirement where it is determined that an organization or group existing for less than one year was formed because of policies or practices of a predecessor organization which discriminated by sex, provided that such organization or group meets eligibility standards in other respects.

(g) Amendments of applications shall, except as the Secretary may otherwise provide by or pursuant to regulation, be subject to approval in the same manner as the original applications.

SEC. 5. The Secretary, in cooperation with the heads of other agencies with relevant jurisdiction, shall insofar as practicable, upon request, render technical assistance to local educational agencies, public and private nonprofit organizations, institutions at all levels of education, agencies of State, local, and Federal governments and other agencies deemed by the Secretary to affect the status of women in this society. Such technical assistance shall be designed to enable the recipient agency or institution to carry on education and related programs concerning the status and education and the role of women in American society.

SEC. 6. The Secretary is authorized to make grants to, or enter into contracts with, public or private nonprofit agencies, organizations, and other institutions for planning and carrying out community-oriented education programs or projects on women in American society for the benefit of interested and concerned adults, young persons, ethnic and cultural groups, community and business leaders, and other individuals and groups within a community. Such programs or projects may include, among other things, seminars, workshops, conferences, counseling, and information services to provide advice, information, or assistance to individuals with respect to discrimination practices, and vocational counseling, and will include information centers designed to serve individuals and groups seeking to obtain or disseminate information, advice, or assistance with respect to the purposes and intent of this Act.

SEC. 7. (a) In addition to the grants authorized under section 4, the Secretary from the sums appropriated therefor, shall have the authority to make grants, not to exceed $15,000 annually per grant, for innovative approach to women's educational programs.

(b) Proposals submitted by organizations and groups under this section shall be limited to the essential information required to evaluate them, unless the organization or group shall volunteer additional information.

SEC. 8. In administering the provisions of this Act, the Secretary is authorized to utilize the services and facilities of any agency of the Federal Government and of any other public or private agency or institution in accordance with appropriate agreements, and to pay for such services either in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be agreed upon. The Secretary shall publish annually a list and description of projects supported under this Act, and shall distribute such list and description to interested educational institutions, citizens' groups, women's organizations, and other institutions or organizations and individuals involved in the education, status, and role of women.

SEC. 9. Payments under this Act may be made in installments and in advance or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of previously made overpayments or underpayments.

SEC. 10. As used in this Act, the term "State" includes (in additon to the several States of the Union) the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

SEC. 11. There is authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1976, and $40,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 1977 for carrying out the purposes of this Act.

Senator MONDALE. The first witness before the subcommittee today will be a man well known to me and my colleagues—the former U.S. Commissioner of Education who is now a vice president of the Ford Foundation—Harold Howe II.

Please proceed.

## STATEMENT OF HAROLD HOWE II, VICE PRESIDENT FOR EDUCATION RESEARCH, FORD FOUNDATION, NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. HOWE. My name is Harold Howe II. I am vice president for education and research of the Ford Foundation located in New York City. I am here at your request to comment upon the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973, S. 2581.

I cannot claim to be an expert on the subject under review by this committee, so it might be helpful to you in evaluating my testimony to outline briefly what my exposure to it has been.

While I have had a broad interest over many years through both experience and study in the realm of education, it is only in the last 2 years that I have given particular attention to the special problems women face because of the assumptions and practices of educational institutions in regard to them.

During that 2-year period, I have served as chairman of an internal Task Force in the Ford Foundation to study the general issue of the rights and opportunities of women. This study was much broader than the field of education. It reached into the problems of employment, of the legal status of women, of the nature and goals of today's women's movement, of women and their role in the family, and of women in other countries.

Because of its breadth, it could in no sense be described as authoritative or exhaustive. It resulted in a brief paper for the Ford Foundation trustees, and in their support for a small program of grants from the several divisions of the foundation to address some of the problems the task force identified. The grants we have made may be of interest to you, and I attach as appendix A, a document listing these. It includes grants concerned with education as well as with employment, legal rights, and other matters.

In the remainder of this testimony, I will quote or paraphrase from time to time from the report mentioned above.

Let me commence by stating five propositions of a general nature to give you a feeling for my personal views on the broad subject of women's rights and roles before I comment on education specifically:

1. The women's movement that has emerged in the United States in the 1960's and early 1970's is much more than a fad. It has strong roots in the past and powerful momentum that gives it promise of sustaining itself and of producing significant changes in our society.

2. In the past and today, our social institutions—education, government, religion, private enterprise, et cetera—have restricted the rights and opportunities of women as compared with men. In the nature of things, this is unfair, unreasonable, and contrary to our assumptions about equality of rights and opportunities for individual human beings.

3. It is a mistake to generalize too much about the needs and aspirations of women. They constitute a wide spectrum of feeling and belief. While the suburban housewife may be unhappy with what she feels is purposeless luxury, the ghetto mother who work full time as a hospital cleaning woman would probably jump at the chance to replace her. Some proportion of the most visible aspect of the women's movement comes from the discontents of the economically more fortunate. These discontents are real enough and deserve attention, but we should not allow their visibility to blind us to other problems.

4. In spite of the previous observation, there is a new wind blowing through American society created largely by women and for women. But it is a wind that affects us all and all our institutions—men and women and particularly the fundamental institution of the family, which is the great common meeting ground of both. The women's movement has awakened a lively concern for redefining what men and women should do in families as they consider job roles, personal relationships, and child-rearing practices. Where all this leads in the long run, I am not sure, but it clearly has implications for the fundamental values by which we live together in families, which have traditionally allocated to women the responsibility for maintaining continuity in society by building the bridge between generations.

As women seek greater autonomy, this traditional role of theirs must be performed by the family in another way or by other institutions. Whatever happens, both men and women and their common future are affected, and we had best be examining the nature of changes already under way and seeking signals about their possible consequences.

5. Today's women's movement has already had impact and it will have more. As it does so there is a danger that it will advance new unorthodoxies that could become as restrictive as the old. Its objectives should be to keep the widest possible choice of options open to both men and women. To make this point more explicit, no woman should be denied the right to the choice of devoting full time to family responsibility and child rearing if that is her preference. But all women should have the opportunities that men do for a variety of options in their lives. The system of restrictive preconditioning that limits so many women to no options at all or that requires of them special precedent-breaking initiatives to attain their rights as human beings is properly under attack by the women's movement. Part of that system is found within education.

This committee will no doubt receive extensive documentation from many sources in regard to the restrictive impact upon women of the practices and assumptions of American schools, colleges and universities. One of the sources the committee would be well advised to consult is the report by the Carnegie Commission entitled "Opportunities for Women in Higher Education," now in the process of publication. Its summary of statistical information from the 1970 census regarding the economic and educational position of women in the United States may well be your best source on this subject.

Allow me to quote a few sentences selected from this document. The first is an anonymous quotation that appears on its frontispiece:

> The second most fundamental revolution in the affairs of mankind on earth is now occurring. The first came when man settled down from hunting, fishing,

herding and gathering to sedentary village life. The second is now occurring as women, no longer so concentrated on and sheltered for their childbearing functions, are demanding equality of treatment in all aspects of life, are demanding a new sense of purpose.

A second quotation is drawn from the concluding remarks of the commission's publication:

> Throughout this report we have referred in a variety of contexts to the need for broader options and greater freedom of choice for women to make maximum use of their abilities. We do not see a future in which every woman will aspire to become a research scientist, a physician, or an engineer. But we do believe strongly that the various barriers that have existed in the paths of women, who might have such aspirations and who have the ability to realize them, should be removed.
>
> These barriers begin in the early acculturation of female children. We have recommended various specific measures, such as improved high school counseling, to provide a more encouraging environment in relation to the career aspirations of women. But we see the most important need as a change in attitude all along the line—on the part of parents school teachers, school counselors, college admission officers, and other administrators, faculty members, and college counseling staffs.

Senator MONDALE. Would you yield there. Would you say that the Carnegie report is generally supportive of the efforts and directions embodied in the pending legislation?

Mr. HOWE. I would say many of its recommendations would track very well with the kind of activities foreseen under this pending legislation, yes.

Senator MONDALE. I have not seen the report.

Mr. HOWE. It is in process, and I have seen just a draft copy of it. I think the full publication is scheduled very shortly and should be available on request of your staff.

Senator MONDALE. I will instruct the staff to include that full report—unless it is too voluminous—in the record.

Mr. HOWE. It is a fairly large document.

Senator MONDALE. Maybe they could take the summary and some relevant tables so that when we complete these hearings we will have a single document.

Mr. HOWE. I would recommend a selective reporting of it in the record.

Senator MONDALE. Exclude that part that calls for increasing tuition.

Mr. HOWE. That is a subject of argument.

The remainder of this testimony will consist of some brief observations about problems related to women that need to be addressed in the realm of education. I will start with elementary and secondary education.

1. Women are seriously discriminated against in the process of promotion to positions of major responsibility in the schools. Some 67 percent of all public school teachers were women in the school year 1970–71, but only six-tenths of 1 percent—0.6 percent—of school superintendents were women. Clearly there is something wrong with this picture. Getting at this problem requires action by local school boards, by State departments of education, and by the Federal Government as well as by schools of education.

For a good list of the kind of actions necessary, I refer you to 21 recommendations contained in an article in the October 1973 issue of Phi Delta Kappan, which describes itself as "the professional fraternity for men in education." This society excludes women from its membership and has suspended the Harvard and Cornell chapters for admitting them. This matter is being debated at the October 19, 1973, meeting of the council of Phi Delta Kappa in Houston (2 days from now). The article to which I refer is by Catherine Dillon Lyon and Terry N. Saario. I am submitting a copy of it for the record if you wish to use it.

2. Many women teachers in elementary schools strengthen and fortify the sex role stereotypes that lead to unequal opportunities for males and females in later life. To work on this problem, teachers need different training in schools of education and new programs that will help them to re-think their roles and assumptions during their careers.

3. The materials used in schools for instruction, guidance, and testing, perpetuate the image of women as limited in their options and as headed for subservient positions. A task force reporting to the U.S. Commissioner of Education in November 1972 asserted, "From the time they first start school, children learn from teachers, textbooks, games, and films that males are superior to females." Schools heavily reinforce the feeling many women have that if they want to work in the white collar or professional world, it should be as a secretary, a teacher or a nurse—all low-paying assignments. While there are efforts being made to make school materials more balanced, they have a long, long way to go. There is a great need for further research on the effects of school materials.

For a useful article on the subject, I refer you to the August 1973 issue of the Harvard Educational Review which has a piece by Saario, Jacklin, and Tittle entitled "Sex Role Stereotyping in the Schools." I am making available for your committee's record a shorter piece on this subject from the Wall Street Journal of October 9, 1973. It was printed under the headline of "Sexism and Schools."

Senator MONDALE. I would ask the staff to look at those documents and maybe, somehow, excerpt or incorporate them in the report.

Mr. HOWE. No. 4, women are seriously underrepresented on school committees and boards and are thus denied access to power over public schools. About 1 in 5 school board members is a woman. Perhaps affirmative action programs at the State and local levels can have some impact on this situation, but since most school board members are elected rather than appointed, it will probably take continued pressure from the women's movement and from men who will help to improve the situation.

5. If women are to have a fair chance for employment, they need the backup of better day care services for preschool children than public agencies provide today in the United States—particularly women from lower-income groups.

Senator MONDALE. Do you support the vetoed Child Development Act?

Mr. HOWE. I did when it was around.

Senator MONDALE. You have not changed your mind?

Mr. Howe. I have not recently examined all the details of it, but the general proposition of a major Federal effort in the child care area seems to me to make a great deal of sense.

These day care services will enrich life for both children and women, just as public schools do. They can become one public expression of the view that women should have wider options. The veto of a national day care bill several years ago partly on grounds of economy and partly on grounds that it would be detrimental to the traditional values of the American family, was in the latter respect a powerful reaffirmation by the President of our society's insistence that woman's place is in the home.

Senator Mondale. The interesting part about that veto was that the central issue in the Senate was whether the parents would control these day care centers—whether they would be run in a way that would strengthen the families. Our whole thrust was to try to make certain that these day care centers were run in a way that would strengthen the family consistent with what the families thought was best. But H.R. 1 proposed by the administration required mothers to leave the home. Our day care bill said let's do what is best for the family, so if anybody was trying to weaken family ties, I think it was the other way around.

Mr. Howe. I would argue that it is not the role of government to decide for the American family who it will run its affairs, but the role of government to present a family with options so if it wishes to make use of day care centers to have a mother do other things than has been her traditional role she has that chance.

Senator Mondale. As you know, H.R. 1 in effect said if the mother thinks it's better for her children that she stay home, she starves.

Mr. Howe. Or at least has a lower standard of income.

Senator Mondale. She does not get any money and that is pretty low. Please proceed.

Mr. Howe. This is a view—that woman's sole place is in the home—that the modern American woman increasingly challenges both for its substance and for its implications. It says to many women that they are second-class citizens who don't have the options in employment or in participation in the affairs of our society that men enjoy.

This brief discussion of preschool and school omits many points that could be made—the monopoly of high school athletic opportunities by males, the unsupportable assumptions that become self-fulfilling prophecies regarding the abilities of girls in mathematics and science, and other such matters. But perhaps this review partly documents the point that energies and funds for reform are required.

It seems to me that the proposed Women's Educational Equity Act provides exactly the kind of resources that are needed and for their flexible and sensible use. I can report to you that the Ford Foundation has requests that we cannot meet for millions of dollars worth of work on these problems.

Turning to postsecondary education, many of the needs and problems are the same, some are different. As in the case of the schools, I shall present some brief and incomplete observations:

1. Women are underrepresented in the academic profession, and the higher up you go in its hierarchy the more underrepresented they are.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has been pushing higher education about this issue and deserves credit for its efforts—credit it doesn't always get from the academic community. Needed also are more programs of funding support for positive action in this area along with enforcement action. Leadership responsibilities in higher education require the special attention of new programs for training women in academic administration.

Senator MONDALE. I have been on this Education Subcommittee now for 5 years. I do not recall a woman ever testifying on behalf of the Office of Education on anything.

Mr. HOWE. Well I was trying to think during the time that I was doing so much testifying whether that had occurred in connection with education testimony, and I do not recall it during that period of 3 or 4 years.

Senator MONDALE. I understand that one arrived last week. I see what you mean by progress. Please go ahead.

Mr. HOWE. No. 2, research about women—their problems today, their contributions in the past—in the major academic fields is not well enough supported to provide the country with the quality and quantity of background information that it needs to understand the female half of its population or to see its past in true perspective. Most of this research will be done in universities, some in colleges. In the sciences, social sciences, and humanities, all sorts of insights can be opened up by it.

The women's movement needs it to be sure that its policies are soundly based; all the rest of us need it to protect us from uninformed decisionmaking. There is a need for better and more up-to-date data on the participation of women in the various professions just as there is for similar information about minority groups in the United States. Some of the research on women will feed back into the curriculum of colleges and lead to a broader understanding of both their past contributions and their present roles and needs.

3. The development of programs to promote higher aspiration levels in employment and in postsecondary education is important for women who are still living in an environment that discourages these. There are some Federal efforts in this area now but more are needed.

Much more could be said on the subject of women and higher education. They are probably more shortchanged there than in the high schools by the superstructure of semiprofessional sport that has evolved to serve men and spectators. Deep in academic departments where decisions are made about who is to be hired and who promoted, there still lurks a powerful feeling that male appointments are more satisfactory—sometimes for no other reason than the fact that men don't have babies. Not enough women serve as trustees of colleges and universities.

Progress is being made in the post-secondary institutions. It is slow and something grudgingly allowed. I think that the resources to back it up suggested by the bill before this committee would be extremely useful.

Finally, let me observe that this proposed legislation can be described as categorical aid to education—a type of Federal assistance not much in favor these days. Without entering into that controversy, I would argue that this bill should not be so labelled. Even though it comes before the Education Subcommittee, it is, in effect, human rights legislation that affects one-half the population directly and the rest of it indirectly but importantly. As such, it deserves the attention and support of both men and women who truly seek an open and free society for the United States.

I shall be glad to try to respond to any questions you may have.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a typically strong and useful contribution to the work of this committee.

I would like to just question you briefly on that question of another categorical program. I heard some complaints that we have had enough categories and what we want now is to consolidate and to pass more of these judgments on to the local level and let them decide.

Why do you argue that we should have that category? You say it is human rights legislation. Are categories OK there?

Mr. HOWE. Well, this opens up this whole subject of categorical legislation. I happen to believe rather strongly that the Federal Government in the United States should not shy away from what is described as categorical legislation, when the category is broadly significant for the populace, and that the doctrine of saying that the role of the Federal Government is merely to hand out money, and then to take no leadership at all in the broad purposes of its use, is really avoiding the responsibility of the Congress. The Congress it seems to me has the obligation to address itself to broad national problems, and when a category such as this one clearly has that characteristic, I do not see any sense in getting into an argument about categorical aid as a possible source of inefficiency.

Senator MONDALE. I do not understand what explains this, but for a long time, for example, the concentration on the needs of the poor and on civil rights, fighting discrimination, basically came from the Federal Government, both in terms of programs and rhetoric. I think it is fair to say that the local governments have picked up a lot of this now and they are doing a far better job than they once were. It may mean then as this becomes ingrained in local political culture that the need for specifically defined categories became less important. But it seems to me whenever you find a compelling national problem that it is not being properly dealt with, there is absolutely nothing wrong with the category. The purpose for it is to identify the problem, help solve it——

Mr. HOWE. I thoroughly agree with that viewpoint. I would observe also that I think in the 1960's in the realm of education it is fair to say we went slightly wild on small categorical programs for particular purposes and created to some degree a confusing structure of diverse programs, which needed some pulling together, both for efficiency of administration and for more effective use by the people ultimately supposed to benefit. But I think that when you get into as broad an area as disadvantaged children, or as broad an area as the situation in which women find themselves in employment in education—these are the kinds of categories that should not be neglected at the national level.

Senator MONDALE. I think we may have set up too many categories, but I am sure we set up too many categories that were unfunded. We authorized dreams, and then we appropriated peanuts, and I think this created a tremendous sense of letdown and frustration.

Mr. Howe. I will plead guilty to having set up some of them, myself.

Senator Mondale. I think I supported most of them too. I think the worst thing we could do is to pass this act and have the American people realize that Congress and the Government have set about a task, and then to give it no money. I think that really deepens the sense of cynicism in this country.

I thought it might be helpful if you could have your staff summarize some of those unfunded important grant applications that you had, just so we get an idea of what people have been trying to do in this field. I assume some of that is classified; but if you could in general ways describe the sort of things people would like to do that you consider to be important, that you do not have the money to fund, I think that would help build the case.

Mr. Howe. We would be glad to do that. It is in no sense classified. The only thing we would like to do is to consult the applicants, and if it is all right to put their names on the public record, fine, otherwise, we would not identify the applicant. As far as we are concerned. it is open information.

Senator Mondale. Very good. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Arvonne Fraser, president of the Women's Equity Action League.

We are delighted to have you with us today.

## STATEMENT OF ARVONNE FRASER, PRESIDENT, WOMEN'S EQUITY ACTION LEAGUE (WEAL)

Ms. Fraser. I am honored that the first time I testify on the Senate side is before your committee, and second, WEAL believes that these hearings are an excellent followup on the family hearings that you held recently and our groups around the country will be studying both.

I am submitting my testimony, and it is quite long, and I know you have a lot of people to hear today.

Senator Mondale. It will appear in its entirety, and you can emphasize the points you feel are important.

Ms. Fraser. WEAL wholeheartedly supports the Women's Educational Equity Act which aims to counteract sexism in education. Sexism, to us, simply means the characterizing, defining, or stereotyping of individuals by sex. It is the view that women have certain roles and positions in society and men have others.

The aim of this bill is to have all people—men and women—educated as people, not as members of one sex with certain roles to fulfill which are preassigned by sex.

The goal of this legislation is to change that—to see that schools educate each individual—male or female—rich or poor—black or white—to be self-sufficient, self-confident, and capable of self-support. We want children to be independent, not dependent on others—whether that other be husband or society.

And although WEAL has been noted primarily for its work in higher education, we have come to realize that working at sexism in higher education is too late. Discrimination in education starts in nursery school where boys are practically forbidden to play with dolls and girls are discouraged from building with blocks.

But before I discuss elementary, secondary, and vocational education, I want to make a short plea for thinking of education as not just an activity concentrated in the first third of one's life. Training and retraining, as well as education for personal growth or pleasure, should be available to all people regardless of age, sex, race, creed, or national origin.

One of the reasons WEAL is especially concerned about age discrimination is that many women do take time off from working outside the home to have and raise children. Thus, there are often breaks in their education and in their working careers.

Department of Labor and census statistics show that most women—over 90 percent—work outside the home at some time during their lives. Eight out of ten women become mothers, but they are having fewer children.

Nationwide, women are almost 40 percent of the workforce. In Minnesota, 43 percent of all women over 16 were workers outside the home in 1970. Each of the age groups between 18 and 64 had 50 percent or more of the women in the labor force except for the group between 25 and 34 years, of whom 43 percent were in the labor force.

Senator **Mondale**. Those trends have been rising dramatically.

Ms. **Fraser**. That is right, since 1970.

In Washington, D.C., 56 percent of all women 16 years and older work. These women make up almost half—47.8 percent—of the workforce in this city.

Senator **Mondale**. Do they have figures broken down by income groups? There is a much higher percentage lower down the economic pole, I assume, or is that not true?

Ms. **Fraser**. I do not know the answer.

Senator **Mondale**. It would be interesting.

Ms. **Fraser**. I am submitting a document called "Women Workers in Minnesota" put out by the Women's Bureau but they are publishing statistics for every State.

Senator **Mondale**. We can put it in the record.

Ms. **Fraser**. Thus, it is not even accurate, to say nothing of honest, to expect little girls to become only housewives and mothers. They do much more. They are workers—inside and outside the home.

This is not to say that being a housewife and mother is a bad thing. Some women do very creative jobs at keeping house and they enjoy it. That is their choice and I respect them for it. But that does not mean that all women should be assigned to housework and caring for children only.

Bearing and raising children takes only a very small part of a woman's life these days—on the average about 10 years from the birth of the first child until the last child goes off to school. And 10 years out of a woman's life is not a very long time. My own grandmother just died a year or so ago at 94. She had 13 children. Her last child went off to kindergarten some 50 years before she died. She spent—even with 13 kids—more years of her life working outside the home than she did at home with children.

And though her great-granddaughters—girls in school today—will not have 13 children, they too will live a long time and many of them will spend the greater part of their lives working outside the home.

Our schools must begin to deal with the reality of people's lives, not with stereotyped or idealized concepts of life.

### TEXTS AND MATERIALS

In the last few years there have been numerous studies pointing out that school readers do not give equal treatment to boys and girls. First these articles appeared in feminist sheets or magazines and then they appeared in scholarly journals. Now they are in the Sunday supplements.

The July 1, 1973 Parade, a magazine distributed with numerous U.S. Sunday newspapers, has an article entitled: "Do Kids' Schoolbooks Distort Sex Roles?" by Ilene Barth. This article reports on a publication by a New Jersey group of women called "Dick and Jane as Victims," a copy of which I am submitting with my testimony.

Parade lists the New Jersey group's findings as: "Males Dominate.

"More than two-thirds of all stories are about boys or men.

"Boys are presented in active, creative situations like building walkie-talkies, or using their wits in capturing hijackers, dealing with a genie, or solving problems for girls or even mother.

"Girls are pictured quietly watching boys play, or in domestic activities like cooking, cleaning the house, or sewing. Often girls are teased by boys for their stupidity when they make mistakes.

"Men are illustrated in a variety of occupations, 147 in all. Women are shown in only 26 occupations, most of them mere extensions of household labor—cooking in a school cafeteria, for example.

"Fathers solve problems for everyone and frequently participate in joint activities with their kids.

"Mothers, however, rarely have a life apart from housework, seldom leave the kitchen, and are more likely to scold than play with their children."

And then the article points out publishers' reactions:

"Macmillan plans to use some new artwork in a few of its readers. . ."

"Bank Street Publications chairman: 'In anything new we write, we'll try to improve the balance between girls and boys.' "

But the publishers complain that it takes "half a million dollars to launch a new series, and a few millions more before the publisher makes a profit. No one is willing to drop or do complete overhauls of series which now exist. Changes will come—but over a period of years."

An earlier article by Dr. Mary Ritchie Key of the University of California, Irvine, notes the spontaneous growth of studies about children's readers and children's literature. "The studies overwhelmingly document discrimination and prejudice against females in children's books," Dr. Key points out and then goes on to discuss the studies.

She points out: "The Little Miss Muffet syndrome, which depicts females as helpless, easily frightened, and dreadfully dull, occurs over and over again in the literature. If one compares this image with the potential of women in adulthood, it becomes apparent that both male and female have difficulty in participating in equal sharing dialogues at the professional level. Males who have grown up learning dialogues such as are in children's books today are not able to listen to a female in adult life. Males paralyze when a rare female makes a constructive suggestion. Likewise females are trained not to take their share, or hold their own in decisionmaking interchange. There are no linguistic models in this early literature for females to take active parts in the dialogue nor for males to respond with dignified acceptance and a willingness to listen."

I congratulate the Senator, he has overcome his education. He listens very well.

Teachers need supplementary materials and they need to be taught how to use them. There is an excellent article in the American Teacher by a St. Paul, Minn. schoolteacher who tells how she develops her own materials and makes the case for more materials being available, especially visual aids.

Our Dallas group did a study of history books using the Dallas school system. There were only two mentions of Eleanor Roosevelt in the history books.

One was "in the same year he wed a distant cousin, the gifted and energetic Eleanor Roosevelt. She was given in marriage by her uncle, Theodore, the President of the United States, who had come from Washington for the occasion."

And a second reference was, "and he and Mrs. Roosevelt showed warm sympathy for people of this minority."

But that is typical of our history books.

Our teacher-training institutions must be encouraged to de-sex their courses and curriculum, bringing women into the mainstream and into equal partnership in education. They must quit considering teachers (female) as the servants of the system and administrators (male) as the executives and policymakers for the system. First priority should be given to educating children.

### VOCATIONAL AND CAREER EDUCATION

A major goal of education is to prepare the individual for the world of work—inside and outside the home—and for a vocation which will make that individual capable of self-support.

Domestic work and the care of children is socially valuable and necessary work. People should be taught to do it well and have a respect for it. To be able to take care of food, clothing, and housing is a necessary set of skills. All children should learn these self-sufficiency skills. This means that the traditionally sexually-separated course of home-ec and shop or industrial arts must be integrated and updated. This is a machine-oriented society and both boys and girls need to know how to operate and take care of machines.

Boys and girls, also need to know something about the purchase and preparation of food, something about nutrition, the care of their clothing and how to clean up after themselves. Consumer education is also necessary in this day when we buy everything. Typing is a valuable skill. Every child ought to be taught to type in the upper elementary grades; it should come right after handwriting or penmanship. Teaching typing as a word skill, as a machine skill and as a vocational skill would be a great asset to thousands of children.

But instead of training all children in these skills our schools have been assigning these skills on the basis of sex. That's stupid and wrong and a waste of manpower.

WEAL is grateful for the anti-sex discrimination provisions in title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. The problem, however, is that there have been no guidelines issued and HEW takes the position that they cannot enforce the law until the guidelines are written, but they are the ones that are writing the guidelines.

Senator **Mondale**. Are they close? Do they say where they are?

Ms. **Fraser**. They keep saying they are close.

Senator **Mondale**. Who is in charge of writing them?

Ms. **Fraser**. The Office for Civil Rights of HEW, I am told.

Senator **Mondale**. I know they are not busy doing anything else.

Ms. **Fraser**. That is right. They could at least get the guidelines out. Anything you can do in that area would be very helpful.

Senator **Mondale**. Let's write a letter requesting information on the guidelines.

Ms. **Fraser**. WEAL wrote a letter this past spring to the D.C. Advisory Committee for Vocational Education, pointing out that Title IX had been passed and did apply to vocational schools and asking what plans the schools had for desexing the schools.

In response, we got telephone calls explaining that in 5 or so years, they would have career development centers, and that anyway girls really wouldn't want to go to school where they were the only girls.

The implication was that there would be so few girls wanting to go to the boys' schools that it wasn't worth bothering about. A look at the course listings for these various vocational high schools in the District will tell you which are the boys' schools and which are the girls'.

The letter that brought us this course listing also states: "The Department of Career Development sent a letter to all junior, senior, and vocational high school principals requesting that they assure counselors that girls will be admitted to vocational programs in any area of their interest." However, the memo that went to principals states "that the vocational high schools will all admit girls who have a sincere interest in one o ftheir areas of specialized training."

What about boys? Do they have to prove a "sincere interest"? Apparently not.

In other words, in Washington, D.C., where 56 percent of the women work outside the home and where 95 percent of the schoolchildren are nonwhite, a girl's choice of vocational courses is very limited when compared to that of a boy. And I have the courses listed in my prepared statement.

Just to make sure I was not being too hard on the D.C. system—though I intend to be, I will talk about Waco, Tex. In Waco, Tex., our WEAL group did an excellent analysis of sex discrimination in the Waco public schools. Among their findings were "sex and race discrimination in the area of student course assignments. The Waco school district, by dictum, 'counseling,' persuasion or lack of alternatives, requires girls to enroll in hairdressing (minority girls only), cooking and sewing classes. Boys are similarly placed in auto mechanics, woodshop, repair, and construction courses." The report goes on to state that an educational consultant testified in Federal court that Waco homemaking courses appeared to be training minority girls to be maids and waitresses.

This is still another example of assigning a place in the world on the basis of sex or race.

Discriminatory or outmoded tests should not be used to steer students toward specific occupations either.

For some time, I was interested in the Strong vocational test which I first learned about from a young high school neighbor (male): "You know, Mrs. Fraser," he said, "you ought to do something about this test they give kids they don't think are going on to college. The girls take a test that's on pink paper and the boys one on blue."

Upon investigation, I learned that the two tests were being redone; the pink and blue tests were being combined, outdated items dropped, and the new test put on a neutral white paper. Psychologists and counselors urged me not to be too rough on the Strong test because "It's one of the best we've got. If you take this away, worse tests will be used."

The Strong test, even on white paper, does not test skills. It takes attitudes and personality traits of people in existing occupations and matches them with the child being tested. If the profiles match—if the child has matching attitudes and personality traits, then apparently that child would be appropriate for that occupation. In other words, the test perpetuates the status quo.

Under the bill, we would hope that development of nonsexist vocational aptitude tests would be a very high priority. This is, apparently, a very expensive process which no private group is willing to undertake while they have a moneymaker on their shelves. Meanwhile, kids are steered by counselors into various occupations or courses using these tests.

And we would hope there could be more information and training including retraining for guidance counselors so that sex stereotyping in vocational and career education will stop. And, I might add, it would be helpful if we figured out ways to quit labeling vocational education as second-class education. The world needs trained technicians—male and female. In my own State of Minnesota, I am told, our post-high school vocational-technical schools are filling up with college graduates looking for a skill with which to find a job.

Developing skills with which to find a job is a problem for all students—women and men alike. And schools of all kinds must develop new attitudes about the world of work, new programs, new ways of training people, and new ideas about the kinds of work people can do.

Section 4(c)(15) of this bill calls for "training, educational, and employment program grants for unemployed and underemployed women." Women who leave the labor force to raise a family do need training and retraining to develop new skills or brush up on old ones. There are small programs of this kind but not nearly the number or variety needed.

Also, we must start bringing workers of all kinds into the schools. Children—young and older—need to learn more about the world of work, and too often that world is utterly foreign, especially to the suburban child. In doing this, women in nontraditional occupations should be encouraged to come into the schools to talk about their jobs. As indicated earlier by the St. Paul teacher, pictures of women workers are needed as well as solid information about a variety of occupations.

Next in my statement is sports and physical education, but I will skip over that. It will be in my statement.

### WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS IN SCHOOLS

Our WEAL group in Minnesota has been challenging local school districts over the number of women in administrative positions.

The Minneapolis Tribune, of Wednesday, June 27, 1973, says:

> Joyce Jackson became a member of a select group—female secondary school administrators—when she was named principal of Central High School.
>
> She is one of three women in the Minneapolis School District to be an administrator of secondary schools. Betty Jo Webb is an assistant principal at Ramsey Junior High. Rachel Leonard was named Tuesday to be assistant principal of Olson Junior High.
>
> Last month, the Minnesota Division of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) accused 31 metropolitan school districts of sex discrimination in the employment of high school administrators.
>
> At that time, Minneapolis had one woman administrator, and the only other district to have any women in secondary administration jobs was North St. Paul-Maplewood, which has an assistant principal.
>
> A study by Clifford Hooker, professor of educational administration at the University of Minnesota, showed that of 2,632 Minnesota school administrators, 202 were women, and most of them are elementary school principals. His study earlier this year showed there were no women school superintendents.
>
> Mrs. Jackson, named to the Central High School post earlier this month, said, "Only in recent years have women been encouraged to go into administration. Secondary school administration has not been perceived as a role for women."

Ms. Jackson is unusual, as the story indicates, but the situation is not. Minnesota's situation is typical. Men are the executives in schools, women are the teacher and the kids get the message.

This has got to change. We need men teachers and women executives; we need to show the kids, not just tell them, that sex-assignment is wrong.

This means, however, that our colleges of education all over this country are going to have to change. It may mean we will need seminars and short courses in school management for teachers so they can move into administrative positions, if they like. And maybe we should even send administrators into the classrooms occasionally to tell the kids how it is to run a big operaiton and to let the administration learn how kids really act in a classroom.

The goal of education should be to give individuals skills and information so they can make choices about their lives; schools ought to be helping individuals develop their full potential; each child ought to have equal educational opportunities in our public school system.

Some may argue that Title IX is enough, that prohibiting discrimination will end discrimination.

WEAL argues that this legislation—the Women's Education Equity Act—is an affirmative action plan with money to make it work. It is positive legislation aimed at changing old habits and instituting new ideas, materials, and ways of doing things.

If Title IX is enforced and this legislation passed and financed eventually we should have equality of opportunity between the sexes and we would no longer need this legislation.

When all children come out of school self-confident, self-sufficient and self-supporting then this legislation can self-destruct.

Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a most useful statement. Could you tell us a little bit about WEAL, describe the group's efforts.

Ms. FRASER. Certainly. We are the group that started by filing sex discrimination charges against colleges and universities under Executive Order 11246.

Senator MONDALE. Is it a national organization?

Mr. FRAZER. It is a national organization, a national membership organization, and we are beginning to organize chapters in States, and we have about 15 to 20 States organized.

Senator MONDALE. How long has it been in existence?

Ms. FRASER. Since 1968. We are the group that went after Phi Delta Kappa, an education organization which excludes women. We filed charges, and I think probably that is why they put out the recent issue of their magazine referred to by Dr. Howe—the issue on sex-discrimination in education. We filed charges of sex discrimination and stated that they should not be allowed to exist on public campuses if they were for men only.

Senator MONDALE. Do you bring lawsuits?

Ms. FRASER. Well, if we have enough money or can find volunteer lawyers. We are starting a legal defense fund.

Senator MONDALE. This bill is primarily educational, money for curriculum development, seminars, research, et cetera. Is that going to be enough or does this fit in the context of what——

Ms. FRASER. No, I think this is why WEAL is interested in elementary and secondary education as well as higher education, because our schools are local, I mean are essentially local and State run. I think a combination of activity and publicity by women's groups, and going after local school boards and getting actually more emphasis on school boards, plus Government action and money will do it. I have no illusions that it is going to be my grandchildren probably who will benefit from this.

Senator MONDALE. We had hearings here for several years on Indian education. It always amazed me that although the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been around for 130 years, it was supposed to be doing exactly what you were talking about. We went all over the country and you could rarely find a text book about Indians. The only series had been written in the 1930's. The Indians hated it because it was not written by Indians and was not sensitive to their culture.

Ms. FRASER. I do not understand why the text books are like this. The text books for white kids are two generations behind. It is still "Dick and Jane" and rural oriented.

Senator MONDALE. I cannot understand it. You need a program like this, so you have the resources, and I think that is where the fight begins, to make sure it is spent wisely and——

Ms. **Fraser.** If you give us the money, we will make sure it is spent wisely and resourcefully.

Senator **Mondale.** Knowing you, I cannot take that threat lightly.

Thank you very, very much.

Ms. **Fraser.** Thank you.

Senator **Mondale.** Our next witness is Shirley M. Clark, acting assistant vice president for academic administration, University of Minnesota and Joan Aldous, professor of sociology and chairwoman, Council for University Women's Progress, University of Minnesota. Please proceed.

## STATEMENT OF SHIRLEY M. CLARK, ACTING ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT FOR ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA; AND JOAN ALDOUS, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AND CHAIRWOMAN, COUNCIL FOR UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S PROGRESS, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Ms. **Clark.** Thank you. We are very pleased to be here, Senator Mondale, and friends.

I am here today to register my emphatic agreement with section 2(a) of the proposed "Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973" * * * "that present educational programs in the United States are inequitable as they relate to women of all cultural and ethnic groups and limit their full participation in American society." The amount and extent of discrimination against women in the education enterprise has only begun to be discovered, documented and corrected.

It is my understanding that the goal of providing educational equity for American women shall be reached through Federal encouragement and fiscal support of special educational programs and activities which are detailed in section 4(c).

A national consciousness-raising concerning women's status and roles should be stimulated by this legislation and resources would be marshaled to illuminate and redress the inequities and inferior aspects of sexist educational programs.

If such an act can serve as complement to strong affirmative action programs under the Federal contract compliance regulations, the potential for achieving enormous change in the areas of equal educational and equal employment opportunities for women will be realized. Denial of equal educational opportunity and denial of equal employment opportunity are the beginning and the end of the same circle.

How to make the new and amended legislation work is a problem of great concern to the groups affected. Categorical grant programs such as this act provide for the application of Federal resources to problems which are national in scope. Whatever our sex, race, religion, or region, no social institution holds us as long in its organized group or is as influential on our ability to choose work careers, as education.

At this point I would like to speak to the significance of the act and comment as a sociologist of education, which is my academic area of specialization, on conditions unfavorable to the full growth and development of women within the institution of the public schools, including higher education.

Much of what I am going to say is supportive of what Mr. Howe and Ms. Fraser have said. I hope this will not be unduly burdensome.

Senator MONDALE. That is fine.

Ms. CLARK. Elementary schools present a facade of equal education for boys and girls: Classes are coeducational and the formal curriculum appears to be the same for both sexes. In fact, under an ideology of treating all children alike, boys and girls may be treated differently in preparation for social roles which they will assume in a sexist society. In the past few years, numerous studies have descriptively detailed sex-stereotyping in elementary school readers: Boys and men are overwhelmingly the central characters and they are actively mastering their environment. Girls are more often portrayed in passive and dependent roles even in the mathematics and science books which might be expected to be neutral with respect to sex role assignment. Traditional sex roles are also reinforced by the authority structure of the school. The majority of elementary teachers are women—85 percent—while the majority of elementary pricipals are men—79 percent. I believe it is the case that women have lost ground in public schools in administrative positions in recent years.

Observation of which sex is in which position in a school is important "incidental" learning for children suggestive of the differential status of men and women in our society. We have not lacked for concern over what happens to little boys in the "feminine" atmosphere of the elementary school, but there has been insufficient attention to the effects on girls of expectations that they be docile, conforming, obedient.

Could these sex-typed expectations be causual to observations that girls possess limited vocational aspirations, are conflicted about achievement, and feel inadequate in pursuing scientific and mathematical interests? The weight and scope of evidence is more than persuasive that elementary school education is sexist for girls and boys indeed.

At the high school level we find much the same situation. The texts and library materials used in the secondary schools show the same patterns of underrepresentation of women figures, representation in limited stereotyped roles as wives, mothers, teachers, et cetera, such "female" traits as docility, dependence, passivity, as curricular materials in elementary schools show.

In the secondary school, women teachers are no longer the majority they were prior to the 1930's, and only 2 percent of the high school principals are women. By the way, women do a little better in assistant principal roles in elementary and secondary schools, but they are still in the minority.

In addition to sex bias in the curriculum and in the administrative structure, there are sometimes found glaring inequities in girls' physical education and interscholastic athletic program budgets.

Such inequities, while significant, are transcended by inequities in vocational and technical educational programs. It could be argued that it is ridiculous to confine girls' homemaking training to cooking and sewing when they will surely need carpentry, automechanics and electronics skills as minimal adult coping skills.

Nonvocational homemaking courses received a large portion of federal funds for home economics until very recently; young women in such courses were not being prepared for paid employment. Careful scrutinizing of other federally assisted educational programs might reveal similar biases.

Considering that over 40 percent of American women are in diverse positions in the labor force, there is perhaps no other area of the curriculum which has greater need for nonstereotyped information and for positive role models for girls than in vocational training and career education. I have little doubt that traditional role stereotypes and overt economic discrimination combine to restrict the aspirations of female high school students.

Thus far, I have spoken to the need for curriculum content analysis and reconstruction, the need for development and dissemination of nondiscriminatory materials and programs, and the need for examining and changing inequitous programs of physical education, vocational and career education. [Section 4 (1), (6), (7).]

The "hidden curriculum" conveying stereotypic sex roles and expectations in the first two levels of public education may be at bottom of the fact that women high school graduates enter college with higher achievement records but lower vocational aspirations than men high school graduates.

A crucial issue in women's education, then, is aspiration. I believe that women teachers have been socialized to accept their subordinate place. They have not struggled to become administrators nor have they sought until recently to change the education of women generally.

But with the resurgence of a feminist movement in the last few years many women have begun to express resentment at policies of exclusion from leadership roles in education, whether as school principals or college deans and presidents.

An adequate supply of able and well-trained women candidates is prerequisite to a successful effort to increase the number of women administrators in the schools. This implies that graduate degree programs in educational administration will be open to admission of women, that efforts will be made to recruit women students in greater number and that faculties will more frequently include women professors on their staffs which are currently 98 percent male.

I should inject at this point that the staff of the divisional educational administration at the University of Minnesota is 100 percent male.

Preparation, however, is only half of the problem. Since more women are currently earning advanced degrees in educational administration and supervision than are hired into administrative positions subsequently, attention must be paid to affirmative action efforts, at the local, State and national levels, or the expansion of advanced degree programs to include more women will be to no avail—section 4 (13), (14).

Several provisions in section 4 appear to pertain to the burgeoning of women's studies programs at colleges and universities throughout this country. We have one begun this year at the University of Minnesota. I would like to emphasize that development of these programs is likely to be stymied unless Federal support is forthcoming. For like the black, Indian and Chicano studies programs which preceded these, development will be difficult to impossible since most higher educational institutions are facing significant retrenchments and moneys for worthy new programs are scarce to nonexistent. Women's studies programs aim to build a curiculum which compensates for prior deprivation, raises the consciousness of many women, encourages research on the unpublished history of women, and works for social change.

Teachers, especially at the elementary and secondary levels of the educational system, need both the consciousness-raising aspects and the compensatory education aspects of women's studies. Such sensitized and informed teachers could then change the existing sexism of curriculum and classroom.

In summary to this point, I have argued that study of the formal and informal curriculum of the school, development of new nonbiased instructional materials, expansion of physical education and vocational and career education programs, retaining of teachers, recruitment of more women into administrative positions—all of which are supported by this act—will help girls and boys reach their full human potential.

Leadership in program development and preparation of personnel are contributions of higher educational institutions to the public system. Higher education will logically be the site of the research and evaluation features of this act, and the personnel development provisions. Thus, the situation affecting women students and women faculty in colleges and universities is relevant to the leadership and role modeling which will be provided to elementary and secondary schools, and to community education programs for adult women.

My colleague, Professor Aldous, and I have been women's rights activists as well as academicians at the University of Minnesota. We havedone various forms of mischief which are known and we have also studied the structural characteristics of professions which make women's full participation problematic in higher education. Also, we have attempted through collective action to produce a more equitable system. From this experience, Joan would like to share some reservations relative to the effect of the act on reform of policies and practices in higher education.

In closing, may I express my appreciation to the sponsors of this bill for making a serious and, we trust, successful effort to create a more just society. Since an adequate level of funding will be necessary to achieve the promise contained in the act, I hope that Congress will be mindful of the appropriations needed to translate act into action.

I would be very pleased to respond to questions.

Senator MONDALE. Why don't we hear from Joan Aldous and then I will direct questions to you.

Ms. ALDOUS. Senator Mondale, ladies and gentlemen, any congressional act having the overall goal of achieving "educational equity for all students, men and women," cannot help but attract the favorable attention of those of us who have been working for this goal in universities.

My experience as professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota and as current chairwoman of the Council for University Women's Progress, has taught me how difficult it is to reach this goal. The council, I should explain, is an organization composed of students, civil service personnel, faculty, and administrators struggling for educational equity at the University of Minnesota.

Let me present some background information on the difficulties in reaching equality in higher education and then relate the information to the bill's provisions.

First of all, the problem in the universities of educational inequities lies largely in the failure of women to be hired, promoted, and paid in ways commensurate with their competencies. A recent report of the American Council on Education, for example, shows that the percentage of women who are faculty members in colleges and universities was 19.1 percent in the academic year 1968–69. In the academic year 1972–73, after all the talk about recruiting women into university positions, the figure was still only 20 percent, an increase of 0.9 percent.

This failure to hire women is not due to the absence of a pool of trained women. Most women in universities whether in secretarial, instructor, or positions as administrative assistants are over-qualified for their positions. To take but a few illustrations, in my own field of sociology, 17 percent of all the Ph. D.'s granted in the 1960's went to women. In physiology, the figure was 14 percent and in chemistry it was 7 percent.

To put the situation bluntly, women are not permitted to exercise their talents due to discriminatory personnel practices. At the present time, therefore, our educational system is working well to turn out women qualified to hold the most demanding positions in administration or in the whole spectrum of academic disciplines in higher education. What the system is not doing is providing job, pay, and promotion opportunities. Thus any bill designed to "achieve educational equity" in universities and colleges must make sure that it is not adding to the number of trained women who are blocked from obtaining jobs for which they are qualified. What can be done?

Any training programs as specified in part C of section 4 of the bill should not be funded unless the sponsoring institution itself does not discriminate against women in hiring, promotion, and pay. The institution should also have firm plans for the placement of the women trained. Similarly, Federal funds for creating positions as specified in part E of section 4 should be given for limited time periods and only where there is assurance that the grant recipient would take over the positions' funding. These requirements would help insure women's receiving work as well as education.

We do not need Federal assistance in turning out qualified women who cannot find jobs commensurate with their training or women in temporary positions. The present system accomplishes this only too well.

Finally, I would implore that strenuous efforts be made to beef up the enforcement arm of the Office of Civil Rights. We at the University of Minnesota—and I am sure you will find a record of this is in a long file of letters to you—through the Council for University Women's Progress have had on file a complaint charging discrimination on the basis of sex against the university for almost 3 years.

The council's complaint is well documented. But the Chicago office that administers the Midwest area has only some six or seven investigators to investigate complaints that number in the hundreds. The Federal legislation that would prevent discrimination in personnel practices is already in existence for higher education institutions. It only needs to be enforced. And for this reason, funds to hire additional sophisticated staff persons at the Office of Civil Rights are essential.

We are open to questions.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much. If this legislation were adopted without changes that you have suggested, so there is money for education, but no teeth, would you prefer not to see it adopted?

Ms. ALDOUS. I think it would really add to the frustrations that women already experience. You see, we very often have women in positions as secretaries, who have bachelor's and master's degrees. They are over-trained for their jobs. Training courses without the provision of jobs would be like the poverty programs, where you trained people for jobs that were nonexistent. I think this can only add to the frustration of women. Maybe you can say this would be a good thing, because then you would have frustrated women working harder for equal rights. But the costs in energy, both psychological and physical would be high. The cost to the country of ignoring a source of competent personnel would also be high.

For that reason I really feel very strongly that you have to put sex antidiscrimination teeth into this bill, because institutions are always eager to have Federal funds and particularly at the present time. Some universities might institute these training programs, and they would be institutions that are discriminating most flagrantly. In fact, the training programs might very well, ironically enough, be largely staffed by men.

Senator MONDALE. I cannot help but be struck by the almost identical recitation of problems in the civil rights movement, it is almost the same, the textbooks, poverty, the whole thing.

I would ask the staff to find out how many people are assigned at the civil rights office to sex discrimination, and we might well prepare an amendment to beef up that staff.

I asked Ms. Fraser earlier about the efforts within the women's movement to sue. I think there is something instructive about this. To ask the government to sue other governments, schools and the rest, I think you are going to be disappointed. They do not like to stir up trouble. As we are finding in the legal services program for the poor, just as soon as it gets going, somebody stops the program. It is not what they want.

You have to take the lead to sue. That gets expensive, but there are ways of cutting costs. There must be lawyers who are willing to help. I make this point because I have been interested in this a long time. There is nothing like a lawsuit. I think Samuel Johnson said that a death sentence concentrates the mind wonderfully. And a lawsuit can do the same thing.

That will move them along faster than anything.

Would you tell me what the Council for Women's Progress at the university is? I think you referred to it in your testimony. How long has it been in existence and are there similar organizations on other campuses, et cetera?

Ms. CLARK. I was the first chairwoman of the council and we organized ourselves approximately 3 years ago, somewhat spontaneously. A group of women faculty, civil service, and student women came together finding that individual complaints were really a social problem of sorts. Our purpose is to study the status of women and then *to take appropriate action on the basis of the data gathered.*

I think there are many, many organizations like ours. We are not affiliates, each of the other, though we do communicate through informal channels. Such organizations are found, I believe, at most colleges and universities now and the interests are very, very similar. We are interested in promoting the education of women, promoting opportunities for women, promoting compliance to the statutes and executive orders that have been provided to improve our status, and so forth.

We are certainly a viable kind of organization on the campus.

Senator MONDALE. You are in the administration at the University of Minnesota?

Ms. CLARK. I am acting assistant vice president in academic administration.

Senator MONDALE. How long have you been there?

Ms. CLARK. I have been at the university 6 years. My position as acting assistant vice president in academic administration began 1 month ago.

Senator MONDALE. How is it working out?

Ms. CLARK. After 1 month, it seems to be working well; the work is not sex-typed.

Senator MONDALE. I see you are getting rid of the president.

Ms. CLARK. I had nothing to do with that. He will be leaving to head the Fund for the Republic early in the summer.

Ms. ALDOUS. I have one point to make here that is rather interesting. Universities have in the past had a strategy of placing women in administrative jobs as assistant to the dean or assistant to the department chairman or assistant to the vice president.

These are always immensely capable women, so if you really want to find out what is going on, you talk to these women. We are anxious to find out what Dr. Clark's position would be, whether it would be assistant to the vice president, or assistant vice president. She is the first assistant vice president at the University of Minnesota who is a woman. This was really a great step forward. If we can just see that all of these "assistants to" are upgraded and the "to" removed from their names, which would assure—as it does in the case of males who are in assistant positions—that there would be increases in salaries, and that would be very good.

Senator MONDALE. I notice in all the testimony thus far, while there is some reference to it, most of the emphasis is understandably upon discrimination and how it affects unfairly people who are discriminated against. Has anybody made the case in terms of what it is costing the country at the other end of it? If you discriminate, almost by definition, for irrelevant reasons, you are denying yourself and your country is denying itself something that could profit from it, the intelligent mathematician, the skilled biochemist, the gifted teacher, the skilled administrator, whatever it is—has anybody tried to quantify or describe the loss to this country from these policies?

Ms. CLARK. I think there is attention to that. Economists who work in the area of human capital development, I believe, are very interested in this kind of a problem, and have in the last 10 years at least addressed themselves to whether there is talent wastage in a society of people who have high aspirations, are very well trained, and then are underemployed or are not employed.

In the mid-1960's another colleague and myself undertook with support from the U.S. Office of Education a national study of women Ph. D.'s, matched with a national sample of men Ph. D.'s. Our sample was over 5,000 recent Ph. D. graduates. We wanted to answer a question: Is this investment in the higher education of women lost? There were those who were arguing that women should not be included in Ph. D. programs when men could be, because women were not as committed to a career, they were not as productive, as scholarly, they married, had children, were not seen or heard from again.

We found even at that point that such was not the case. I think there was some attention to this in Ms. Fraser's speech that the higher the amount of education attained, the more likely it is that the woman will be in the labor force in this country, and we found that practically all of the women Ph. D.'s were employed basically in positions commensurate with their training, although there were some differences in status and salary between the women and men doctorates.

Senator **Mondale**. I think almost all of these social wrongs are not only wrong, they are foolish, just from the buck standpoint.

In the civil rights movement there have been studies of what discrimination cost America, not just the people who are discriminated against and their families, but America. This must be an enormous bill we pay through indirection every year for unfairness. I do not know if there is any literature on this.

Well, thank you very much.

Our next witness is Dr. Bernice Sandler, director, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges. If you will proceed.

## STATEMENT OF DR. BERNICE SANDLER, DIRECTOR, PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. **Sandler**. I would like my full statement printed in the record.

Senator **Mondale**. Without objection, it will appear in the record at the conclusion of your testimony.

Ms. **Sandler**. Discrimination against women and girls in our educational institutions is real and not a myth. Until the last few years it has gone unnoticed, unchallenged and unchecked. Indeed in 1970, when the first charges of a pattern and practice of discrimination were filed against colleges and universities, there were not laws whatsoever forbidding sex discrimination in our schools and colleges. Women students and faculty had no legislative protection; only Executive Order 11246 applied, and that covered only institutions with Federal contracts.

Senator **Mondale**. Let's stop right there. In other words, it is an Executive Order.

Ms. **Sandler**. That was the only Federal coverage we had back in 1970.

Senator **Mondale**. Where are we now?

Ms. **Sandler**. We have really had a legislative explosion. I think it was one of the least noted achievements of the 92d Congress. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which covers employment, was amended in March 1972 to cover all educational institutions, public or private, regardless of whether or not they received Federal assistance. It covers all schools—elementary, secondary, and postsecondary.

Senator **Mondale**. Title VII prohibits discrimination——

Ms. **Sandler**. In employment.

Senator **Mondale**. In all institutions, public and private?

Ms. **Sandler**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. What does Title IX do?

Ms. **Sandler**. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits discrimination not only in employment, but also against students.

Senator **Mondale**. Title VII is really employment and Title IX is students.

Ms. **Sandler**. Students and employment in federally assisted education programs are both covered by Title IX.

Senator **Mondale**. Are those the two main ones?

Ms. **Sandler**. Those are the main ones. The other one is the Equal Pay Act which was amended to delete the exemption for executive, administrative, and professional employees, so that women faculty have coverage under that act as well as under Titles VII and IX.

Senator **Mondale**. Is that just Federal employees?

Ms. **Sandler**. The Equal Pay Act does not cover Federal employees, but covers virtually every employee in educational institutions.

Senator **Mondale**. You cannot pay someone on a discriminatory basis less than they would receive based on their ability?

Ms. **Sandler**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. All right. Title IX has not been implemented yet, because it is awaiting regulations.

Ms. **Sandler**. The law is in effect now, but the proposed regulations have not been issued. The latest I heard was they are close to the Secretary's desk.

Senator **Mondale**. Have any lawsuits been brought under Title VII?

Ms. **Sandler**. Yes. There are several in the courts, and the Department of Justice has gone in against Oklahoma State University. The Equal Employment Commission has gone in against Tufts University, and several women have instituted private suits.

The University of Minnesota recently had a case filed against it under Title VII.

Senator **Mondale**. I think you can recover legal fees under Title VII, can you not?

Ms. **Sandler**. Yes. None of these cases have been fully settled yet, gone through full litigation. The University of Minnesota case involves a woman asking for $750,000 in damages—$500,000 compensatory and $250,000 punitive damages. Many institutions are now being sued for several million dollars, but as I say, none of them have gone through the courts yet.

Senator **Mondale**. So there is now a much more impressive legal framework?

Ms. SANDLER. Yes; it is no longer only a moral issue, but a legal issue as well.

With the passage of Title IX, many of the overt forms of discrimination are now prohibited by law—discriminatory admission are forbidden; all courses in coeducational schools and colleges must be open to all students on the basis of their abilities and not on the basis of their reproductive organs; differential regulations, policies, and practices are forbidden; equal access to all programs and facilities is now a matter of national policy and legislation. But much of the discrimination that young girls and women face goes beyond the matter of official policies and practices.

Our young women, even when allowed equal access, will still face a pervasive pattern of sex discrimination. Our schools like the rest of society, are caught in a web of outdated attitudes, stereotypes, and assumptions about women. Despite the fact that women are now more than 40 percent of the work force—incidentally they are the fastest growing segment of the labor force—our schools still operate as though all women marry and quit work.

Our young girls are not encouraged to think of work as part of their future lives, although most of them will work for 25 years or more, regardless of whether or not they marry, have children, or take time off for child-rearing.

From the time a young girl enters school she learns more than just reading, writing, and arithmetic. Her textbooks are far more likely to be written about boys and men; girls and women are rarely major characters. She will read about boys who do interesting, exciting things: they build rafts and treehouses; they have challenging adventures and solve problems, and they rescue girls who are "so stupid" that they get into trouble. One typical book pictures a 14-year-old girl standing on a chair, screaming because there is a frog on the floor; her 8-year-old brother rescues her.

When girls appear in books, they are passive; they watch, they read, they dream, and are incapable of solving the most elementary problems. About the most exciting thing that girls do in books is help mother with the dishes or take a trip to the supermarket.

Although half the mothers of school-age children now work (and one-third of the mothers of preschoolers also work), mothers in children's books all stay home and usually wear aprons.

I could go on and tell you more about half of our population, our girls and women, and how their lives and talents and aspirations are crippled by a society which sees them as second-class citizens. I could tell you of well-meaning teachers and counselors who tell our young women that most fields are "too hard for a female," or who tell young women "not to worry about a career because a pretty girl like you will get married." I can tell you of a second grade teacher who told a parent not to worry about a bright girl who was bored in school, because "after all, she'll only be a housewife." And I can tell you of teachers who tell their students that boys are better in math, which becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, even though there is no difference in math achievement in the early years of grade school.

I can tell you, too, of professors who tell their women students that women should not be professionals—my own adviser told me this a few years ago; who discourage women students from considering graduate work; and I can tell you of professors who ignore women students in their class, or make "jokes" about how the "girls" wouldn't understand "what we men are talking about." I could tell you about the "underachievement" of women, which is a national scandal. For too many women, education produces a profound sense of inferiority.

Half of the brightest people in our country are women, yet the average woman with a bachelor's degree who works full time earns about the same median income as a man who is a high school dropout. No nation can long afford to waste half of its resources; yet that is precisely what is happening throughout our society now. If we are to begin to remedy the injustices that women face we will need a massive program to counteract the biases that women encounter.

S. 2518 would help develop new programs for women and girls at all levels, programs which would help women overcome the disadvantages of being raised in a society where they are not given the same opportunities that are the birthright of their brothers.

Much of what happens to women and girls is unconscious and not deliberate but that does not make it hurt any the less. S. 2518 would allow for the development of materials, training programs, and inservice programs to help our educational personnel fulfill their obligations and new responsibilities toward our young women and men. I think we need training to help women help recognize what the world is now like, that they will work.

In contrast with the previous witness, I think if we do not have training, we will have more angry women and not fewer angry women. Certainly we need to end discrimination on the job, but we cannot wait for that before we train women. We need to train women now, and we need to train teachers to deal with women and girls.

The bill would encourage the development of all sorts of programs—programs designed to encourage young women to enter study areas and jobs from which they have traditionally been excluded; model programs in providing education; evaluation and development of textbooks and curriculum; reach-out programs for poor women, unemployed women, older women.

Specific attention also needs to be given to minority females. Too often many of our minority programs have been aimed at minority males, and too often, our programs aimed at women have focussed on white women. For example, textbook publishers have made a special effort to show pictures of blacks and other minorities in prestige positions; minorities now appear in books as doctors, judges, engineers.

But these pictures and stories are almost exclusively limited to minority males. It it a disservice to hold out encouragement for higher aspirations to male children only. S. 2518 specifically allows for programs to be developed for minority females of all cultural and ethnic groups.

Some people have raised the question that because of Title IX we may not need such a bill as S. 2518. Title IX forbids discrimination on the basis of sex in all federally assisted education programs, but it will not create new programs for direct assistance to women. For example, Title IX prohibits a school from denying girls admission to an auto mechanic course. (Incidentally, my own daughter could not get into such a course a few years ago.)

However, Title IX would not provide for a new program to be designed to directly encourage girls to take the course, or to train counselors to advocate the entry of girls into such a course, nor would it train the instructor to deal fairly with the new female students. To merely end discrimination is not enough; new programs are vitally needed to deal with the new issues arising as discrimination ends.

Some may ask why is a separate bill necessary: Cannot the same things be done by already existing programs?

In HEW and in the U.S. Office of Education are numerous programs where funding for specific activities concerning women might well be funded. The likelihood of any substantial effort for developing women's programs by OE is very small, considering OE's past history. In November 1972, the Commissioner's Task Force on the Impact of Office of Education Programs on Women, issued its report "A Look at Women in Education: Issues and Answers for HEW." The report is damning, particularly when one notes that it was prepared by OE personnel who are thoroughly familiar with the problems of OE programs. The following quotes are from the report:

> Throughout the agencies (OE and NIE), the Task Force found little understanding of educational awareness * * *. Unless equal opportunity for women is made a priority, neither agency is likely to sustain major changes (p. 66).
>
> * * * it is abundantly clear that education contributes its share to the exploitation of women. Through its system of formal education, society should seek to nurture young minds and to open doors to lifelong opportunities. On both counts, education is failing the female sex (p. 21).
>
> OE funds help to support the many discriminatory practices that make it particularly difficult for women to gain access to the education they want (p. 32).

The report, which is 141 pages long, examined virtually every program within OE, NIE, and OCR for women, and documents how Government activities, programs, policies, and practices ignore the problems of women. Specific recommendations were made, and eventually various heads of administraive units were asked to respond to the recommendations. To the best of my knowledge, these recommendations have not been officially accepted, nor implemented, nor has a date been set for future implementation. It is clear that, without a specific mandate from the Congress, such as that contained in S. 2518, very little will be done by OE on its own initiative.

Moreover, the categorical programs supported by HEW have their own priorities: The aim of the vocational education program, for example, is not to help women but to support vocational education. With the substantial budget cuts being implemented throughout HEW, the most favored programs of administrators are those most likely to be funded, with women's programs given a low priority.

What is needed is a crosscutting approach, a program that would override narrow categorical aims, a program that would indicate commitment at a national public policy level. And this is what S. 2518 would do.

Would S. 2518 conflict with the equal rights amendment when ratified? The equal rights amendment would forbid discriminatory practices and policies by Federal, State, and local governments. It would make sex a "suspect" classification in the same way that race is a "suspect" classification under the 14th amendment. The question may then be raised as to whether activities funded by S. 2518 would be preferential treatment, and violate either the equal rights amendment or the 14th amendment.

The courts have held that when shaping a remedy for race discrimination, present correction of past discrimination is not preferential. Case after case has upheld affirmative action measures as a proper and equitable means or relief. In numerous school desegregation cases, affirmative correction programs of a far stronger nature than those continued in S. 2518, have been implemented by the courts. Mere nondiscrimination is not enough; concerted effort is necessary to remedy the effects of past discrimination.

I might add that the bill does contain a provision that men could not be excluded from any of the programs funded by this bill, and we welcome that provision.

There is also congressional precedent for this type of assistance. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Commissioner of Education is empowered to render technical assistance to public institutions preparing, adopting, and implementing desegregation plans. The Commission is also authorized, through grants or contracts with institutions of higher learning, to operate short-term or regular session institutes for special training to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation.

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 amended Title IV to include sex, so that statutory authority for some of the programs covered by S. 2518 already exists, although no funds were appropriated for these purposes.

However, S. 2518 recognizes that the problems of women are not identical to those of racial minorities. The latter have been excluded by separate school systems. In contrast, the problems of women occur within an "integrated" setting; females have been involved in coeducational institutions but have not had equal treatment, encouragement, or opportunities within those institutions. Title IV deals only with desegregating institutions and would apply only to those single sex schools that are in the process of admitting the other sex. Title IV, therefore, does not apply to coeducational institutions.

S. 2518 would allow for the development of programs in a variety of settings both in and out of school. The Congress has passed legislation for programs dealing with other disadvantaged groups; S. 2518 would similarly provide for programs for women.

Our educational and community institutions will need a substantial amount of assistance if they are to help women gain their place as equal participants and beneficiaries of our society. These institutions are caught in the traditions and policies of the past, traditions which are outmoded by the new realities of women working, of nondiscrimination laws, and the new recognition of the rights of women. The way to solve the problems emerging as women's role changes is far from clear; we do not know the answer or the best way to handle the new ideas and issues.

It will be difficult, however, if not impossible, to discover these answers unless there is a concerted substantial effort at a national policy level, with funding and commitment. Unless our institutions receive help of this sort, they will be vulnerable to continued charges of discrimination as well as being unable to adequately fulfil their responsibiities to women.

Although the women's movement is growing at a tremendous rate, women's groups are not well financed nor able to mount a comprehensive program to do what needs to be done; the Government must lead the way to help our Nation utilize the human resources of this Nation. And half of those resources are women.

S. 2518 asks for a pathetically small amount of money: $15 million for the first year with slightiy larger amounts in the 2 years following. And $15 million is approximately the cost of one F-14 jet plane. Surely our Nation can well afford that amount to help half of its citizens overcome the disadvantage of having been born female in a society where being born female is too often a handicap.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a very strong statement.

What institutions are represented by your association, and how did the association happen to establish this project on status in education?

Ms. SANDLER. The Association of American Colleges is composed of the undergraduate liberal arts colleges, mainly private, but several public as well. We were the first, I think, of the educational associations of institutions to realize that something needed to be done to help institutions fulfill their responsibilities.

In 1971, a proposal was written, and then funded by the Carnegie Corp. of New York, the Danforth Foundation, and the Exxon Education Foundation.

Senator MONDALE. Exxon?

Ms. SANDLER. Yes. It used to be Esso.

Senator MONDALE. Terrific. It occurred to me that it might make sense to look at the various agencies in the Federal Government which already have responsibilities, such as Office of Education, Civil Rights, and others, and make an analysis of their present policies and staffing structure, as they apply to reinforcement and implementation of these proposals and the appropriations levels, and make an analysis—maybe this has already been done—make an analysis of what is needed in terms of personnel, funding, and so on. Maybe we should put in an omnibus implementation bill. My guess is it would not be very expensive.

Ms. SANDLER. Yes, additional staffing is needed in all the enforcement agencies.

Senator MONDALE. For example, how many people in the HEW's Office for Civil Rights are working on sex discrimination?

Ms. SANDLER. Sex discrimination is not handled separately from other discrimination. The Division of Higher Education at the Office for Civil Rights handles all higher education institutions that are covered under the Executive order, or Title IX, or Title VI, which covers race discrimination.

Senator MONDALE. They could break out the approximate man-years that are being applied to this part of the bill. They do in everything else.

Ms. **Sandler**. My own impression in dealing with HEW's Office of Civil Rights is that it would be extremely difficult for them to break out almost any information. Until very recently they could not even tell you how many complaints had been filed.

Senator **Mondale**. You will find you cannot get any information when they are embarrassed at the answer, that is usually the problem. We ought to ask each of the agencies precisely how many full time people they have, who they are, and try to get a profile on what is going on.

Ms. **Sandler**. That would be extremely helpful.

Senator **Mondale**. I would think maybe that would be one of the things we can do. We raised spending levels for the OCR by about $2 million, and one of the arguments was that the education amendments imposed new responsibilities——

Ms. **Sandler**. Yes, Title IX.

Senator **Mondale**. But we do not have a breakdown here. I think it would be a good idea to try to get a specific analysis of what is happening in each of the related agencies and see what we need to do by way of appropriations and maybe staffing.

Ms. **Sandler**. That would be extremely useful. I know in higher education there have been more complaints filed with HEW concerning sex discrimination than those filed by all the other minorities put together. About 500 universities and colleges have been charged. Virtually all those complaints ask that women at all levels be investigated: women faculty, staff, and students, because the problems of women are by no means limited to professional women.

Senator **Mondale**. We ought to get an analysis. We will see what we can dig out on that. Anything anyone can help us with will be appreciated.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement and supplemental information from Ms. Sandler follow:]

**THE PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN**

**STAFF:** **Bernice Sandler,**
**Director**
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TESTIMONY OF BERNICE SANDLER,

Director, Project on the Status
and Education of Women,
Association of American Colleges

before the
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE COMMITTEE

October 17, 1973

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY ACT OF 1973

I am Dr. Bernice Sandler, Executive Associate and Director of the Project on the Status and Education of Women at the Association of American Colleges. Formerly, I was the Chairman of the Action Committee of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) which was instrumental in bringing about federal enforcement of Executive Order 11246 regarding sex discrimination in universities and colleges. I am a member of the Board of numerous women's organizations, including WEAL, and I am also a member of the Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women to the President's Council of Economic Advisers. I am also a former Visiting Lecturer at the University of Maryland, and a former Educational Specialist, working on women's rights, with the House of Representatives' Special Subcommittee on Education.

Discrimination against women and girls in our educational institutions is real and not a myth. Until the last few years it has gone unnoticed, unchallenged and unchecked. Indeed in 1970, when the first charges of a pattern and practice of discrimination were filed against colleges and universities, there were no laws whatsoever forbidding sex discrimination in our schools and colleges. Women students and faculty had no legislative protection; only Executive Order 11246 applied, and that covered only institutions with federal contracts.

It was not until 1970 that any Congressional hearings were ever held on the subject of sex discrimination in education. Representative Edith Green's hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education documented a massive and extensive pattern of sex discrimination in over 1200 pages of testimony.

One of the least noted achievements of the 92nd Congress, however, was the legislative "explosion" concerning sex discrimination in education. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (which covers employment) previously excluded educational institutions; in March 1972 that exemption was removed with the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. All institutions, public or private, and regardless of whether or not they receive federal assistance, are now covered by Title VII. Similarly, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 contains provisions protecting students and employees from discrimination on the basis of sex in all federally assisted education programs. Title IX also removed the exemption for professional, executive and administrative employees contained in the Equal Pay Act of 1963, so that women faculty are now covered. Moreover, in October 1972 the Congress extended the jurisdiction of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights to include sex discrimination. The Congress has clearly mandated a national policy to end sex discrimination in education.

With the passage of Title IX, many of the overt forms of discrimination are now prohibited by law--discriminatory admissions is forbidden[1]; all courses in coeducational schools and colleges must be open to all students on the basis of their abilities and not on the basis of their reproductive organs; differential regulations, policies and practices are forbidden; equal access to all programs and facilities is now a matter of national policy and legislation. But much of the discrimination that young girls and women face goes beyond the matter of official policies and practices.

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[1] Private undergraduate colleges and all single sex undergraduate colleges are exempt from the admission requirements of Title IX. However, they are not exempt from the provisions forbidding discrimination after admission.

Our young women, even when allowed equal access will still face a pervasive pattern of sex discrimination. Our schools, like the rest of society, are caught in a web of outdated attitudes, stereotypes, and assumptions about women. Despite the fact that women are now more than 40% of the work force, our schools still operate as though all women marry and quit work. Our young girls are not encouraged to think of work as part of their future lives, although most of them will work for 25 years or more, regardless of whether they marry, have children, or take time off for childrearing.

From the time a young girl enters school she learns more than just reading, writing and arithmetic. Her textbooks are far more likely to be written about boys and men; girls and women are rarely major characters. She will read about boys who do interesting, exciting things: they build rafts and tree houses; they have challenging adventures and solve problems, and they rescue girls who are "so stupid" that they get into trouble. One typical book pictures a 14-year-old girl standing on a chair, screaming because there is a frog on the floor; her 8-year-old brother rescues her. When girls appear in books, they are passive; they watch, they read, they dream, and are incapable of solving the most elementary problems. About the most exciting thing that girls do in books is help mother with the dishes or take a trip to the supermarket.

Although half the mothers of school-age children now work (and one-third of the mothers of pre-schoolers also work) mothers in children's books all stay home and usually wear aprons. They are a somewhat crabby group, always entreating their children to be clean and to be good, although they are warm and loving when children are hungry or ill. Women are simple characters in children's books; they have no interests beyond children and home; they rarely even drive cars; and they too are incapable of solving even the simplest of problems, like finding a box for a kitten, or mending a simple toy: all problems are deferred "until Daddy comes home."

Even arithmetic books--a seemingly neutral field--are riddled with sexual stereotypes that cripple our young girls. A sensitive 9th grade girl, Ann MacArthur, in a Maryland junior high, analyzed her algebra textbook and noted many examples [2] in math problems, such as: boys and men deal with large sums of money, make large purchases and invest their earnings. Girls and women deal with smaller sums, such as the amount necessary to buy butter or eggs. Men and boys do interesting things: they build a road, paint a barn, ride bicycles and paddle canoes. The problems that females deal with are almost always in the home: they measure materials for a blouse, and are concerned about "improbable and impractical age problems", such as: Janet being 4/5 as old as Phil." Women have no occupational role other than housewife or club member.

I could go on and tell you more about half of our population, our girls and women, and how they have their lives and talents and aspirations crippled by a society which sees them as second-class citizens. I could tell you of well-meaning teachers and counselors who tell our young women that most fields are "too hard for a female," or who tell young women "not to worry about a career because a pretty girl like you will get married." I can tell you of a second grade teacher who told a parent not to worry about a bright girl who was bored in school, because "after all, she'll only be a housewife." And I can tell you of teachers who tell their students that boys are better in math, which becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, even though there is no difference in math achievement in the early years of grade school.

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[2] As reported in the Women's Studies Newsletter, No. 4, Summer 1973, p. 2. (Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, New York 11568).

I can tell you, too, of professors who tell their women students that women shouldn't be professionals; who discourage women students from considering graduate work, and I can even tell you of professors who ignore women students in their class, or make "jokes" about how the "girls" wouldn't understand "what we men are talking about." I could tell you about the "under achievement" of women, which is a national scandal. For too many women, education produces a sense of inferiority.

Half of the brightest people in our country are women, yet the average woman with a bachelor's degree who works full time earns about the same median income as a man who is a high school dropout. No nation can long afford to waste half of its resources; yet that is precisely what is happening throughout our society now. If we are to begin to remedy the inequities that women face we will need a massive program to counteract the biases that women face.

S. 2518 would help develop new programs for women and girls at all levels, programs which would help women overcome the disadvantages of being raised in a society where they are not given the same opportunities that are the birthright of their brothers.

Much of what happens to women and girls is unconscious and not deliberate but that does not make it hurt any the less. S. 2518 would allow for the development of materials, training programs and inservice programs to help our educational personnel fulfill their obligations and new responsibilities toward our young women and men. The bill would encourage the development of all sorts of programs--programs designed to encourage young women to enter study areas and jobs from which they have traditionally been excluded; model programs in providing physical education, evaluation and development of textbooks and curriculum; reach-out programs for poor women, unemployed women, older women.

Specific attention also needs to be given to minority females. Too often many of our minority programs have been aimed at minority males, and too often, our programs aimed at women have focussed on white women. For example, textbook publishers have made a special effort to show pictures of blacks and other minorities in prestige positions; minorities now appear in books as doctors, judges, engineers. But these pictures and stories are almost exclusively limited to minority males. It is a disservice to hold out encouragement for higher aspirations to male children only. S.2518 specifically allows for programs to be developed for minority females of all cultural and ethnic groups.

## Relationship of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 to S. 2518

Title IX forbids discrimination on the basis of sex in all federally assisted education programs, but it will not create new programs for direct assistance to women. For example, Title IX prohibits a school from denying girls admission to an auto mechanics course. However, it would not provide for a new program to be designed to directly encourage girls to take the course, or to train counselors to advocate the entry of girls into such a course, nor would it train the instructor to deal fairly with the new female students. To merely end discrimination is not enough; new programs are vitally needed to deal with the new issues arising as discrimination ends.

Why Is a Separate Bill Necessary? Can't the Same Things Be Done by Already Existing Programs?

In HEW and in the U. S. Office of Education are numerous programs within which funding for specific activities concerning women might well be funded. The likelihood of any substantial effort for developing women's programs by OE is very small, considering OE's past history. In November 1972 the Commissioner's Task Force on the Impact of Office of Education Programs on Women issued its report "A Look at Women in Education: Issues and Answers for HEW." The report is damning, particularly when one notes that it was prepared by OE personnel who are thoroughly familiar with the problems of OE programs. The following quotes are from the Report:

> Throughout the agencies [OE and NIE], the Task Force found little understanding of educational awareness... Unless equal opportunity for women is made a priority, neither agency is likely to sustain major changes. (p. 66)
>
> ... it is abundantly clear that education contributes its share to the exploitation of women. Through its system of formal education, society should seek to nurture young minds and to open doors to lifelong opportunities. On both counts, education is failing the female sex. (p. 21)
>
> OE funds help to support the many discriminatory practices that make it particularly difficult for women to gain access to the education they want. (p. 32)

The Report, which is 141 pages long, examines virtually every program within OE, NIE, and OCR for women, documenting how government activities, programs, policies and practices ignore the problems of women. Specific recommendations were made, and eventually various heads of administrative units were asked to respond to the recommendations. To the best of my knowledge, these recommendations have not been officially accepted, nor implemented, nor has a date been set for future implementation. It is clear that, without a specific mandate from the Congress, such as that contained in S. 2518, very little will be done by OE on its own initiative.

Moreover, the categorical programs supported by HEW have their own priorities: the aim of the vocational education program, for example, is not to help women but to support vocational education. With the substantial budget cuts being implemented throughout HEW, the most favored programs of administrators are those most likely to be funded, with women's programs given a low priority.

It is also important to note that many programs are funded because of personal contacts. This is not to imply that the programs do not have merits, but only that being part of the "old boy" network (the informal relationships of old friends and acquaintances) is sometimes useful in getting government funding. Women are largely excluded from this network: they are not the administrators, they rarely serve on review panels, or advisory committees, and are not often used as consultants to programs. Education may be known as a "woman's field" but women are not part of the network that is involved in determining policy and practices. With a specific bill for women's programs, more women would enter the informal network, and have the opportunity to affect other policies and practices.

What is needed is a "cross-cutting" approach, a program that would override narrow categorical aims, a program that would indicate commitment at a national public policy level. And this is what S. 2518 would do.

Would S. 2518 Conflict with the Equal Rights Amendment When Ratified?

The Equal Rights Amendment would forbid discriminatory practices and policies by federal, state and local governments. It would make sex a "suspect" classification in the same way that race is a "suspect" classification under the 14th Amendment. The question may then be raised as to whether activities funded by S. 2518 would be "preferential" treatment and violate either the

the Equal Rights Amendment or the 14th Amendment.

The courts have held that when shaping a remedy for race discrimination, "present correction of past discrimination is not preferential".[3] Case after case has upheld affirmative action measures as a proper and equitable means of relief.[4] In numerous school desegregation cases, affirmative correction programs of a far stronger nature than those contained in S. 2518, have been implemented by the courts.[5] Here non-discrimination is not enough; concerted effort is necessary to remedy the effects of past discrimination.

Under the strict scrutiny utilized to determine discrimination concerning a suspect classification, it might well be argued that there is a "compelling national interest" to remedy the effects of past discrimination. This argument would justify having sex-based remedial programs for women under the Equal Rights Amendment. Moreover, when a classification which is usually deemed onerous (i.e., race, sex) is used to *remedy* past deprivations, a lower standard (i. e. "reasonable" or "rational basis") may be used. In *Katzenbach v. Morgan* (384 U. S. 641 (1966)), the court upheld the use of the "reasonable" basis test on the ground that remediation of past inequities was involved, even though it involved a benefit based on race.

S. 2518 (Section 2(c)) contains a provision that men could not be excluded from any of the programs funded by the bill, and we welcome this.

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[3] *Jones v. Lee Way Motor Freight, Inc.*, 431 F2d, 2 FEP Cases 895 (10th Cir. 1971), cert denied 401 U. S. 954, 3 FEP Cases 193 (1971); and other cases.

[4] See, for example, the 1973 "Statement of Affirmative Action for Equal Employment Opportunities" by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and "Technical Comment #1," International Association of Official Human Rights Agencies, 1625 K St., N.W, Washington, D. C. 20006, September 1972.

[5] See, for example, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 402 U. S. 1 (1971).

Moreover, there is Congressional precedent to justify the programs that would be undertaken by S. 2518. Under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Commissioner of Education is empowered to render technical assistance to public institutions preparing, adopting and implementing desegregation plans. The Commission is also authorized, through grants or contracts with institutions of higher learning, to operate short-term or regular session institutes for special training to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation. The Commissioner is also authorized to make grants to pay in whole or in part for the cost of teacher and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incidental to desegregation and employing specialists to advise in problems incidental to desegregation.

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 amended Title IV to include sex, so that statutory authority for some of the programs covered by S. 2518 already exists, although no funds were appropriated for these purposes.

However, S. 2518 recognizes that the problems of women are not identical to those of racial minorities. The latter have been excluded by separate school systems. The problems of women occur within an "integrated" setting; females have been involved in coeducational institutions but have not had equal treatment, encouragement, or opportunities within those institutions. Title IV deals with desegregating institutions and would apply only to those single sex schools that are in the process of admitting the other sex. It does not apply to coeducational institutions. S. 2518 would allow for the development of programs in a variety of settings both in and out of school. The Congress has passed legislation for programs dealing with other disadvantaged groups; S. 2518 would similarly provide for programs for women.

## Additional Recommendations

Although the bill is exceptionally well-drafted, there are a few minor technicalities that might best be changed:

1. Sec. 3(b) lines 16 and 18 should read:"...at a rate not to exceed the maximum daily rate prescribed for grade GS 18 in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code." (underlining added)

   The GS 18 category is in keeping with other similar legislation.

2. I would urge that the bill go into effect for the fiscal year of 1974, 1975 and 1976, rather than 1975, 1976, and 1977.

## Concluding Remarks

Our educational and community institutions will need a substantial amount of assistance if they are to help women gain their place as equal participants and beneficiaries of our society. They are caught in the traditions and policies of the past, traditions which are outmoded by the new realities of women working, of non-discrimination laws, and the new recognition of the rights of women. The way to solve the problems emerging as woman's role changes is far from clear; we do not know the answer or the best way to handle the new ideas and issues. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to discover these answers unless there is a concerted substantial effort at a national policy level, with finding and commitment. Unless our institutions receive help of this sort, they will be vulnerable to continued charges of discrimination, as well as being unable to adequately fulfill their responsibilities to women.

Although the women's movement is growing at a tremendous pace, women's groups are not well financed nor able to mount a comprehensive program to do what needs to be done; the government must lead the way to help our nation utilize the human resources of this nation. And half of those resources are women.

S. 2518 asks for a pathetically small amount of money: $15 million for the first year with slightly larger amounts in the two years following. $15 million dollars is the cost of one F-14 jet plane. Surely our nation can well afford that amount to help half of its citizens overcome the disadvantage of having been born female in a society where being born female is too often a handicap.

**THE PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN**

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NOVEMBER 1972

## SOME USEFUL BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON WOMEN IN EDUCATION

WOMEN: A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THEIR EDUCATION AND CAREERS; by Helen S. Astin, Nancy Suniewick, and Susan Dweck, 1971. Annotated. Available from The Human Service Press, Suite 160, 4301 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20008. $5.95 (20% discount on orders of 10 or more copies and to libraries).

WOMEN'S HIGHER AND CONTINUING EDUCATION: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH SELECTED REFERENCES ON RELATED ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S LIVES; by Esther Manning Westervelt and Deborah A. Fixter, 1971. Annotated. Available from Publications Order Office, College Entrance Examination Board, Box 592, Princeton, New Jersey 08540. $1.50.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY; by Linda A. Harmon, 1972. Annotated. Available from Iowa State University, The Library, Attn: Photoduplication Center, Ames, Iowa 50010. $3.50.

The Business and Professional Women's Foundation has published 4 annotated bibliographies on specific topics: Career Counseling (1972), Women Executives (1970) Sex Role Concepts (1969), and Working Mothers (1968). The first two are $0.50 each and the second two are free. Available from Business and Professional Women's Foundation, 2012 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE TREATMENT OF GIRLS IN SCHOOL; by the Feminist Press, 1972. Some annotation. Available from the Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, New York 11568. Free to students and teachers (if they include a stamped, self-addressed envelope).

HANDBOOK ON WOMEN WORKERS; by the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, 1969. Unannotated. Contains many facts and figures about women and employment as well as an extensive bibliography. Available free from regional Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 20210.

WOMEN STUDIES ABSTRACTS (A journal published quarterly); by Sara Stauffer Whaley, 1972. Annotated. Available from Women Studies Abstracts, P. O. Box 1, Rush, New York 14543. $10.00 per year for library edition (including annual index), $7.50 for individuals, $5.00 for students.

CURRENT RESEARCH ON SEX ROLES; by Lucy W. Sells, 1972. Annotated. Available from L. W. Sells, 1181 Euclid Avenue, Berkeley, California 94708. $2.50 for faculty administrators, and libraries, and $1.50 for students ($2.25 and $1.25 for third-class mail.)

project on the status and education of **women**

BERNICE SANDLER, Director

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FRANCELIA GLEAVES, Research Assistant

The following section-by-section analysis of the Women's Educational Equity Act was made available to the Project on the Status and Education of Women through the House Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities:

## WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT of 1973
## H. R. 208

SECTION 1. States the title of the act as "Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973."

SEC. 2. Declares present educational programs inequitable as they relate to women of all cultural and ethnic groups. States the purposes of the act, which include encouraging the development of new and improved curriculums; demonstration and evaluation of such curriculums in model educational programs; support of the initiation and maintenance of programs concerning women at all levels of education; dissemination of materials for use in educational programs and in mass media; provision of training programs for parents, educational personnel, youth and guidance counselors; community leaders, and government employees at all levels; provision of planning for women's resource centers; provision of improved career, vocational and physical education programs; provision of community education programs and programs on the status, roles and opportunities for women in society.

States that men are not prohibited from participating in any activities funded under this act.

SEC. 3. Establishes a Council on Women's Educational Programs within the Office of Education consisting of 21 members (including at least 12 women), broadly representative of the public and private sections and knowledgeable about the role and status of women in American society. All members are appointed by the President and one is designated by him to be chairman. Council members will serve 3-year staggered terms.

The functions of the Council include advising the Secretary of HEW about the preparation and administration of regulations and the operations of programs under this act; making recommendations regarding the allocation of funds with due respect to geographical representation; developing criteria for program priorities and procedures for the annual review of programs including development and dissemination of an annual independent report of programs and activities under this act.

SEC. 4. Directs the Council to advise, review and make recommendations for a program of grants to and contracts with institutions of higher education, State and local education agencies, organizations, public and nonprofit private agencies, and institutions (including libraries and museums) for research, demonstration and pilot projects to carry out the purposes of this act.

Eligible activities include development of curriculum; dissemination of information to public and private education programs at all levels and community education programs; support of women's educational programs at all education levels; preservice and inservice training programs; fellowship programs, conferences, institutes, workshops; research, development and dissemination of materials, texts and tests and programs for nondiscriminatory vocational education and career counseling for women; new and expanded programs of physical education and sports for women in all educational institutions; planning and operation of women's resources centers; recruitment and training for persons to be employed in women's educational programs; evaluation of such programs; programs to increase the number of women in administrative positions in institutions at all levels of education and in fields in which they have not traditionally participated; training, educational and employment programs for unemployed and underemployed women.

Applications under this section are made to the Secretary and must meet specified requirements including the assurance that funds will be used to supplement and not supplant funds which would otherwise be available for the same purposes.

SEC. 5. Requires the Secretary to render technical assistance to public and nonprofit private education agencies and organizations at all levels of education and government affecting the status of women, to enable them to carry on education and related programs concerning the role of women in society.

SEC. 6. Authorizes the Secretary to make additional grants or contracts for the planning and implementation of community-oriented education programs on women in American society for individuals or groups within the community. Projects could include workshops, conferences, counseling and information services.

SEC. 7. Authorizes the Secretary to make grants of up to $15,000 a year per grant for innovative approaches to women's educational programs.

SEC. 8. Authorizes the Secretary to utilize the services and facilities of any Federal or other public or private agency and to pay for such services. Directs the Secretary to publish and distribute annually a list and description of projects funded under this act.

SEC. 9. Allows payments under this act to be made in installments and in advance or as reimbursement with necessary adjustments for overpayments or underpayments.

SEC. 10. Defines "State."

SEC. 11. For the purposes of this act authorizes $15 million for fiscal year 1975, $25 million for fiscal year 1976, and $40 million for fiscal year 1977.

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**THE ACADEMIC WOMAN**

# Is 'Affirmative Action' Penalizing Males?

**By Bernice Sandler**

The newest cry to be added to the phrases that condemn affirmative action is that of "reverse discrimination." White male faculty members, as a result of budget tightening, are finding it increasingly difficult to find employment in academia. (Despite myths to the contrary, academic women are also having difficulty in finding employment. Preliminary figures on some campuses show an actual decrease in the number of women employed despite affirmative action, for budget constraints have often meant cutbacks that heavily affect the non-tenured ranks where women are most likely to be.)

Nevertheless, some men are claiming that "preference" is being given to women over men. Coupled with the complaint of "reverse discrimination" is a dire prediction that the high standards of academia are being diluted because the women thus hired are supposedly less qualified than the men who were turned down.

## Special Complaints

Some of the complaints have been totally specious: several men have complained of "reverse discrimination" simply because a woman was hired and they were not. The mere hiring of a woman, no matter how well qualified, is assumed by some to be evidence of "reverse discrimination." In fact, the few women that have actually been hired, even when hired as tokens, have generally been superbly qualified. Our project has been unable to locate a single instance where a lesser qualified woman has been hired in preference to a better qualified male.

On occasion, some administrators have used affirmative action as an excuse to turn down applicants they did not want to hire. One department head at a large Western university wrote four of the five applicants he considered that he could not hire them because HEW insisted that he hire a woman. The candidate who got the job, however, was not a woman, but [illegible] male. Needless to say, the practice of using affirmative action as an excuse for not hiring males either deliberately or unintentionally, is illegal.

## Some Complaints Justified

Other complaints have been justified. Some administrators have misunderstood federal requirements and have erroneously believed that *only* women and minorities, including minority women, could be hired, and not white men. Affirmative action expressly *forbids* any preference based on race or sex. What is required is that the institution make a "genuine good-faith effort" and document its activities to seek out qualified women and minorities, that criteria be objective and job-related, and that they be applied equally to all candidates of any sex or race. When a department head has done this and can justify that the white male he wants to hire is indeed the best-qualified candidate, he simply goes ahead and hires the white male.

Numerical or percentage goals for hiring women and minorities are not quotas. The employer's obligation to fulfill the goal is not absolute. It is the obligation of active affirmative *recruiting* and *fair objective hiring* that is required by law and federal regulations. Employers who have done this and have not met the goal face no penalty whatsoever. On the contrary, employers who try to meet goals by giving preference to women and minorities are in violation of the law, for such preferences change goals into quotas. The courts (as well as federal law and regulations) have clearly differentiated between goals and quotas, with goals being ordered and upheld in a growing list of cases under the Executive Order, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 5th Amendment, and the 14th Amendment. In contrast, quotas have been struck down by the courts as unquestionably violative of the law.

Throughout academia in the past there has been preference, but it has not been for women or minorities, but for white males. One wag put it this way: "We've always had affirmative action for white men; now it's time to have it for women and minorities, too." Affirmative action is not aimed at creating preference, but at ending preference for white males.

## Standards Likely to Increase

Academic standards, contrary to myth, are likely to increase as a result of affirmative action. Despite claims of a gloriously objective merit system, academic judgments have too often been intuitive and subjective. Now instead of being able to justify a candidate merely by saying, "He's a well-known and respected scholar," department heads will have to develop specific objective criteria, and be able to demonstrate that the candidate is indeed the *very best* person recruited from the largest pool possible, a pool which will include qualified women and minorities.

None of the opponents of affirmative action who claim dedication to the principle of academic freedom have shown any concern for the academic freedom of women who have lost their jobs as a result of their activities to end discrimination. (On one campus, for example, all 10 women who formed a women's rights committee subsequently had their contracts terminated.) None of the men who worry about preference have shown any concern for the traditional academic preference for white males. None of those who are concerned about "high academic standards" and the merit system have noticed that the "dead wood" which exists on any campus is predominantly white and male, persons who were chosen by the so-called merit system. Those who live in the glass halls of ivy seem most likely to throw stones at affirmative action.

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***More Notices of Meetings Appear on the Preceding Page***

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PREPARED BY THE PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN

# FEDERAL LAWS[1] AND REGULATIONS CONCERNING SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS[2]

October 1972

# Federal Laws[1] and Regulations Concerning Sex Discrimination in Educational Institutions[2]

*October, 1972*

Compiled by Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges

| | **Executive Order 11246** as amended by 11375 | **Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964** as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 | **Equal Pay Act of 1963** as amended by the Education Amendments of 1972 (Higher Education Act) | **Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972** (Higher Education Act) | **Title VII (Section 799A) & Title VIII (Section 845) of the Public Health Service Act** as amended by the Comprehensive Health Manpower Act & the Nurse Training Amendments Act of 1971 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Effective date** | Oct. 13, 1968 | March 24, 1972 (July 1965 for nonprofessional workers.) (Institutions with 15-24 employees are not covered until March 24, 1973.) | July 1, 1972 (June, 1964, for non-professional workers.) | July 1, 1972 (Admissions provisions effective July 1, 1973.) | Nov. 18, 1971 |
| **Which institutions are covered** | All institutions with federal contracts of over $10,000 | All institutions with 15 or more employees | All institutions | All institutions receiving federal monies by way of a grant, loan, or contract (other than a contract of insurance or guaranty). | All institutions receiving or benefiting from a grant, loan guarantee, or interest subsidy to health personnel training programs or receiving a contract under Title VII or VIII of the Public Health Service Act. |
| **What is prohibited** | Discrimination in employment (including hiring, upgrading, salaries, fringe benefits, training, and other conditions of employment) on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin or sex. Covers all employees. | Discrimination in employment (including hiring, upgrading, salaries, fringe benefits, training and other conditions of employment) on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin or sex. Covers all employees. | Discrimination in salaries (including almost all fringe benefits) on the basis of sex. Covers all employees. | Discrimination against students or others on the basis of sex. | Discrimination in admission of students on the basis of sex and against some employees. |
| **Exemptions from coverage** | None. | Religious institutions are exempt with respect to the employment of individuals of a particular religion or religious order (including those limited to one sex) to perform work for that institution. (Such institutions are not exempt from the prohibition of discrimination based on sex, color and national origin.) | None. | Religious institutions are exempt if the application of the anti-discrimination provisions are not consistent with the religious tenets of such organizations.<br>Military schools are exempt if their primary purpose is to train individuals for the military services of the U.S. or the merchant marine.<br>Discrimination in admissions is prohibited only in vocational institutions (including vocational high schools), graduate and professional institutions, and public undergraduate coeducational institutions. | None. |
| **Who enforces the provisions?** | Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) of the Department of Labor has policy responsibility and oversees federal agency enforcement programs. OFCC has designated HEW as the Compliance Agency responsible for enforcing the Executive Order for all contracts with educational institutions. HEW's Office for Civil Rights (Division of Higher Education) conducts the reviews and investigations. | Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). | Wage and Hour Division of the Employment Standards Administration of the Department of Labor. | Federal departments and agencies which are empowered to extend financial aid to educational programs and activities. HEW's Office for Civil Rights (Division of Higher Education) is expected to have primary enforcement powers to conduct the reviews and investigations. | HEW's Office for Civil Rights (Division of Higher Education) conducts the reviews and investigations. |
| **How is a complaint made?** | By letter to OFCC or Secretary of HEW. | By a sworn complaint form, obtainable from EEOC. | By letter, telephone call, or in person to the nearest Wage and Hour Division office. | Procedure not yet specified. A letter to Secretary of HEW is acceptable. | Procedure not yet specified. A letter to Secretary of HEW is acceptable. |
| **Can complaints of a pattern of discrimination be made as well as individual complaints?** | Yes. However, individual complaints are referred to EEOC. | Yes. | Yes. | Yes. | Yes. |
| **Who can make a complaint?** | Individuals and/or organizations on own behalf or on behalf of aggrieved employee(s) or applicant(s). | Individuals and/or organizations on own behalf or on behalf of aggrieved employee(s) or applicant(s). Members of the commission may also file charges. | Individuals and/or organizations on own behalf or on behalf of aggrieved employee(s). | Individuals and/or organizations on own behalf or on behalf of aggrieved party. | Individuals and/or organizations on own behalf or on behalf of aggrieved party. |
| **Time limit for filing complaints** | 180 days. | 180 days. | No official limit, but recovery of back wages is limited by statute of limitations to two years for a non-willful violation and three years for a willful violation. | Procedure not yet determined. | Procedure not yet determined. |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Can investigations be made without complaints?** | Yes. Government can conduct periodic reviews without a reported violation, as well as in response to complaints. Pre-award reviews are mandatory for contracts over $1,000,000. | No. Government can conduct investigations only if charges have been filed. | Yes. Government can conduct periodic reviews without a reported violation as well as in response to complaints. | Yes. Government can conduct periodic reviews without a reported violation, as well as in response to complaints. | Yes. Government can conduct periodic reviews without a reported violation, as well as in response to complaints. |
| **Can the entire institution be reviewed?** | Yes. HEW may investigate part or all of an institution. | Yes. EEOC may investigate part or all of an establishment. | Yes. Usually the Wage-Hour Division reviews the entire establishment. | Yes. HEW may investigate those parts of an institution which receive federal assistance (as well as other parts of the institution related to the program, whether or not they receive direct federal assistance). If the institution receives general institutional aid, the entire institution may be reviewed. | Yes. HEW may investigate those parts of an institution which receive federal assistance under Title VII and VIII (as well as other parts of the institution related to the program, whether or not they receive assistance under those titles). |
| **Record keeping requirements and government access to records** | Institution must keep and preserve specified records relevant to the determination of whether violations have occurred. Government is empowered to review all relevant records. | Institution must keep and preserve specified records relevant to the determination of whether violations have occurred. Government is empowered to review all relevant records. | Institution must keep and preserve specified records relevant to the determination of whether violations have occurred. Government is empowered to review all relevant records. | Institution must keep and preserve specified records relevant to the determination of whether violations have occurred. Government is empowered to review all relevant records. | Institution must keep and preserve specified records relevant to the determination of whether violations have occurred. Government is empowered to review all relevant records. |
| **Enforcement power and sanctions** | Government may delay new contracts, revoke current contracts, and debar institutions from eligibility for future contracts. | If attempts at conciliation fail, EEOC or the U.S. Attorney General may file suit.[10] Aggrieved individuals may also initiate suits. Court may enjoin respondent from engaging in unlawful behavior, order appropriate affirmative action, order reinstatement of employees, and award back pay. | If voluntary compliance fails,[11] Secretary of Labor may file suit. Aggrieved individuals may initiate suits when Department of Labor has not done so. Court may enjoin respondent from engaging in unlawful behavior and order salary raises, back pay and assess interest. | Government may delay new awards, revoke current awards, and debar institution from eligibility for future awards. Department of Justice may also bring suit at HEW's request. | Government may delay new awards, revoke current awards, and debar institution from eligibility for future awards. Department of Justice may also bring suit at HEW's request. |
| **Can back pay be awarded?**[7] | Yes. HEW will seek back pay only for employees who were not previously protected by other laws allowing back pay. | Yes. For up to two years prior to filing charges with EEOC. | Yes. For up to two years for a nonwillful violation and three years for a willful violation. | Probably, to the extent that employees are covered. | Probably, to the extent that employees are covered. |
| **Affirmative action requirements**<br>(There are no restrictions against action which is nonpreferential.) | Affirmative action plans (including numerical goals and timetables) are required of all contractors with contracts of $50,000 or more and 50 or more employees.[8] | Affirmative action is not required unless charges have been filed, in which case it may be included in conciliation agreement or be ordered by the court. | Affirmative action, other than salary increases and back pay, is not required. | Affirmative action may be required after discrimination is found. | Affirmative action may be required after discrimination is found. |
| **Coverage of labor organizations** | Any agreement the contractor may have with a labor organization cannot be in conflict with the contractor's affirmative action commitment. | Labor organizations are subject to the same requirements and sanctions as employers. | Labor organizations are prohibited from causing or attempting to cause an employer to discriminate on the basis of sex. Complaints may be made and suits brought against these organizations. | Procedure not yet clear. Any agreement the institution may have with a labor organization cannot be in conflict with the nondiscrimination provisions of the legislation. | Procedure not yet clear. Any agreement the institution may have with a labor organization cannot be in conflict with the nondiscrimination provisions of the legislation. |
| **Is harassment prohibited?** | Institutions are prohibited from discharging or discriminating against any employee or applicant for employment because he/she has made a complaint, assisted with an investigation or instituted proceedings. | Institutions are prohibited from discharging or discriminating against any employee or applicant for employment because he/she has made a complaint, assisted with an investigation or instituted proceedings. | Institutions are prohibited from discharging or discriminating against any employee because he/she has made a complaint, assisted with an investigation or instituted proceedings. | Institutions will be prohibited from discharging or discriminating against any participant or potential participant because he/she has made a complaint, assisted with an investigation or instituted proceedings. | Institutions will be prohibited from discharging or discriminating against any participant or potential participant because he/she has made a complaint, assisted with an investigation or instituted proceedings. |
| **Notification of complaints** | Notification of complaints has been erratic in the past. HEW is proposing notifying institutions of complaints within 10 days. HEW notifies institutions a few weeks prior to investigation. | EEOC notifies institutions of complaints within 10 days. | Complaint procedure is very informal. Employer under review may or may not know that a violation has been reported. | Procedure not yet determined. | Procedure not yet determined. |
| **Confidentiality of names** | Individual complainant's name is usually given to the institution. Investigation findings are kept confidential by government, but can be revealed by the institution. Policy concerning government disclosure concerning investigations and complaints has not yet been issued. The aggrieved party and respondent are not bound by the confidentiality requirement. | Individual complainant's name is divulged when an investigation is made. Charges are not made public by EEOC, nor can any of its efforts during the conciliation process be made public by the commission or its employees. If court action becomes necessary, the identity of the parties involved becomes a matter of public record. The aggrieved party and respondent are not bound by the confidentiality requirement. | The identity of a complainant, as well as the employer (and union, if involved), is kept in strict confidence.[12] If court action becomes necessary, the identity of the parties involved becomes a matter of public record. The aggrieved party and respondent are not bound by the confidentiality requirement. | Identity of complainant is kept confidential if possible. If court action becomes necessary, the identity of the parties involved becomes a matter of public record. The aggrieved party and respondent are not bound by the confidentiality requirement. | Identity of complainant is kept confidential if possible. If court action becomes necessary, the identity of the parties involved becomes a matter of public record. The aggrieved party and respondent are not bound by the confidentiality requirement. |
| **For further information, contact** | Division of Higher Education<br>Office for Civil Rights<br>Department of HEW<br>Washington, D.C. 20201<br>or<br>Office of Federal Contract Compliance<br>Employment Standards Administration<br>Department of Labor<br>Washington, D.C. 20210<br>or<br>Regional HEW or DOL Office | Equal Employment Opportunity Commission<br>1800 G Street, N.W.<br>Washington, D.C. 20506<br>or<br>Regional EEOC Office | Wage and Hour Division<br>Employment Standards Administration<br>Department of Labor<br>Washington, D.C. 20210<br>or<br>Field, Area, or Regional Wage and Hour Office | Division of Higher Education<br>Office for Civil Rights<br>Department of HEW<br>Washington, D.C. 20201<br>or<br>Regional HEW Office | Division of Higher Education<br>Office for Civil Rights<br>Department of HEW<br>Washington, D.C. 20201<br>or<br>Regional HEW Office |

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# Footnotes

## General

1. State employment and/or human relations laws may also apply to educational institutions. The Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, passed by the Congress and now in the process of ratification would, when ratified, forbid discrimination in publicly supported schools at all levels, including students and faculty.

2. Unless otherwise specified, "institution" includes public and private colleges and universities, elementary and secondary schools, and preschools.

3. A bona fide seniority or merit system is permitted under all legislation, provided the system is not discriminatory on the basis of sex or any other prohibited ground.

4. There are no restrictions against making a complaint under more than one anti-discrimination law at the same time.

5. This time limit refers to the time between an alleged discriminatory act and when a complaint is made. In general, however, the time limit is interpreted liberally when a continuing practice of discrimination is being challenged, rather than a single, isolated discriminatory act.

6. Back pay cannot be awarded prior to the effective date of the legislation.

## **Executive Order 11246** as amended by 11375

7. The definition of "contract" is very broad and is interpreted to cover all government contracts (even if nominally entitled "grants") which involve a benefit to the federal government.

8. As of January 19, 1973, all covered educational institutions, both public and private, must have *written* affirmative action plans.

## **Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964** as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act

9. In certain states that have fair employment laws with prohibitions similar to those of Title VII, EEOC automatically defers investigation of charges to the state agency for 60 days. (At the end of this period, EEOC will handle the charges unless the state is actively pursuing the case. About 85 per cent of deferred cases return to EEOC for processing after deferral.)

10. Due to an ambiguity in the law as it relates to public institutions, it is not yet clear whether EEOC *or* the Attorney General will file suit in all situations which involve public institutions.

## **Equal Pay Act of 1963** as amended by the Education Amendments of 1972 (Higher Education Act)

11. Over 95 per cent of all Equal Pay Act investigations are resolved through voluntary compliance.

12. Unless court action is necessary, the name of the parties need not be revealed. The identity of a complainant or a person furnishing information is never revealed without that person's knowledge and consent.

## **Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972** (Higher Education Act)

(Minority women are also protected from discrimination on the basis of their race or color by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.)

13. Final regulations and guidelines for Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 have not yet been published. This chart includes information which is explicitly stated in the law, as well as how the law is likely to be interpreted in light of other precedents and developments.

14. The sex discrimination provision of Title IX is patterned after Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbids discrimination on the basis of race, color and national origin in all federally assisted programs. By specific exemption, the prohibitions of Title VI do not cover employment practices (except where the primary objective of the federal aid is to provide employment). However, there is no similar exemption for employment in Title IX.

15. Title IX states that: "No person . . . shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance. . . ."

16. The following are exempted from the *admissions* provision:

Private undergraduate institutions.

Elementary and secondary schools other than vocational schools.

Single-sex public undergraduate institutions. (If public single-sex undergraduate institutions decide to admit both sexes, they will have 7 years to admit female and male students on a nondiscriminatory basis, provided their plans are approved by the Commissioner of Education.)

Note 1. *These exemptions apply to admissions only.* Such institutions are still subject to all other anti-discrimination provisions of the Act.

Note 2. Single-sex professional, graduate and vocational schools at all levels have until July, 1979, to achieve nondiscriminatory admissions, provided their plans are approved by the Commissioner of Education.

17. Under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which Title IX of the Education Amendments closely parallels, federal agencies which extend aid to educational institutions have delegated their enforcement powers to HEW. A similar delegation of enforcement power is expected under Title IX.

## **Title VII & Title VIII of the Public Health Service Act** as amended by the Comprehensive Health Manpower Act & the Nurse Training Amendments Act of 1971

18. Final regulations and guidelines for Title VII and VIII of the Public Health Service Act have not yet been published. This chart includes information which is explicitly stated in the law, as well as how the law is likely to be interpreted in light of other precedents and developments.

19. Schools of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry, veterinary medicine, optometry, pharmacy, podiatry, public health, allied public health personnel and nursing are specifically mentioned in Titles VII and VIII. Regulations issued June 1, 1972, by the Secretary of HEW specify that *all* entities applying for awards under Titles VII or VIII are subject to the nondiscrimination requirements of the act.

20. HEW regulations state: "Nondiscrimination in admission to a training program includes nondiscrimination in all practices relating to applicants to and students in the program; nondiscrimination in the enjoyment of every right, privilege and opportunity secured by admission to the program; and nondiscrimination in all employment practices relating to employees working directly with applicants to or students in the program."

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Senator MONDALE. Our next witness is Nancy K. Schlossberg, director, Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education. We are very pleased to have you with us this morning.

## STATEMENT OF NANCY K. SCHLOSSBERG, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

Ms. SCHLOSSBERG. I am Nancy Schlossberg, director of the new Office of Women in Higher Education at the American Council on Education. I am also a professor on leave from Wayne State University, where I am an associate professor in the department of educational guidance and counseling.

I also was the first chairperson of the Commission on the Status of Women at Wayne.

Now one of the things I feel very strongly about is that this act is going to benefit men as well as women. When options are closed off for one sex, they are also closed off for both sexes.

The first thing I would like to address myself to is why special money for women? This question was raised earlier. Is it legitimate to have special money for a special group? I say yes. My answer stems from research on various subgroups on university campuses. Any group which by numbers or image is seen as different from "the majority" needs special visibility.

For example, adult men, 35 and over, who were undergraduates at Wayne State University, expressed over and over the need for a special counseling and placement center for themselves. Commuters on residential campuses express the same needs, as do blacks at white universities—and this list could go on.

Special services are not necessarily forever, but are definitely needed as a vehicle to enable the group in question to emerge with self-confidence and equality. The "aloneness" that the men in my study experiences, the fear of trying out untraditional routes that women I have counseled expressed, and the anger that individuals feel when fighting and often losing with the bureaucracy are testimony to the need for special attention.

The issue before us is: How could funds generated by this bill be used to improve educational opportunities for women? My remarks will be addressed to an important area of concern which is my own field of specialization, that of vocational counseling.

Many women counselees report on the negative impact well-meaning counselors have had on their career development.

In my recent experience, counselors have discouraged a 37-year-old widow from entering dental school, an undergraduate woman from majoring in engineering, a high school girl from taking advanced classes in science and math. Counselor bias is certainly not limited to women; men wishing to enter a "feminine" profession like nursing would undoubtedly be discouraged by many counselors. Likewise, minority group members have long been counseled to be "realistic" about their place in the world of work.

To test the degree of counselor bias, Prof. John Pietrofesa, associate professor of Educational Guidance and Counseling at Wayne State

University, and I, arranged interviews between counselor trainees and a coached female counselee at a major urban university. The coached counselee presented herself as undecided about entering engineering, a "masculine occupation," or education, a "feminine occupation."

Each interview was tape recorded.

Senator MONDALE. Dirty trick.

Ms. SCHLOSSBERG. It is terrible. Yes; you are right. Why do you think I am in Washington and I left Detroit?

We tape recorded both men's and women's responses to this, and it was shocking to me. First of all, the counselors acted as if they had forgotten how to counsel. Nobody counseled. Everybody gave advice. The women were just as bad as the men. They all encouraged this young woman to go into education that the hours would be better for children, and so forth.

Federal funds could be put to highly productive use in the area of counselor training and retraining. The implications of such studies for counselor training—both new counselors-in-training and those already practicing—are several; accepting counselor bias as a fact, counselor education programs must attempt to bring it into the open, so that counselors are better able to control biased feelings and to remove them from their counseling.

For example, Dr. Pietrofesa and I have implemented a four-pronged training model, the goal of which is to enable counselors and teachers to participate with their constituency in an unbiased fashion. The model includes the following components which can be adapted to specific settings:

1. Expanding the cognitive understanding of counselors regarding the role of women through lectures and readings.
2. Increasing counselors' sensitivity to sex bias through troup techniques.
3. Promoting the acquisition of unbiased skills among counselors through audio/videotaping and role playing.
4. Fostering skill development in program planning and implementation among counselors through tutorial projects.

This approach is based on 56 hours of training—an intensive 1-week period followed by 16 hours of followup sessions during the year.

Federal funds could be well used to develop other model inservice training programs. These models could be demonstrated at conferences to guide representatives in setting up similar programs when they return to their own institutions and/or communities. Money could further be used to send consultants to individual institutions to develop and implement inservice counselor training programs.

When discussing counselor bias, it is essential to examine materials which are commonly used and relied upon in the counseling interview. Such materials frequently reflect stereotyped roles for men and women, contain biased statements which could lead a counselee in one direction rather than another, and reflect the past rather than the future by reinforcing outmoded ideas of women's place. Despite the growing awareness among leaders in the area of tests and measurements, practitioners—both men and women—are often unaware of the sexual bias inherent in the major interest inventories as presently constructed.

Most counselors use tests. It is almost as if they do not know how to talk and listen anymore. They pull out an inventory or checklist and think the answer is going to come from this. The sad thing about it is that most of these instruments are biased. Now the one that I mention in my testimony is the Strong Vocational Interest Inventory.

I mention that because I specifically investigated its bias. However, what applies to the Strong also applies to most other inventories. For the Strong we found that:

First, separate forms exist for men and women. The man's form lists 33 occupations for men only, implying that women cannot become authors, journalists, or physicists, for example. Likewise, the women's form lists 37 women-only occupations, implying that men cannot become elementary teachers, art teachers, or medical technologists, among others.

Second, if the same person, either male or female, takes both forms of the SVIB, the profiles will be dramatically different for two reasons. The first is the different occupations listed for each sex. The second is the different scoring requrements for an occupation, even when listed on both forms. For example, a woman who scored high on the women's profile in the areas of dental assistant, physical therapist, and occupational therapist scored high as a physician, psychiatrist, and psychologist when she took the men's form.

Third, guidelines in the manual and handbook suggest to counselors that many women will score high only in certain premarital occupations.

Thus, in the alternatives provided for men and women taking the test, in the method of scoring, and in the manuals available, the SVIB consistently limits occupational choices for men and women, to the detriment of both.

Presented with the findings of our study, the American Personnel and Guidance Association accepted our resolution that the Strong test be revised, and a revision is currently underway. However, the revision is incomplete, since funds are not available to develop new norm groups for each occupation included in this inventory. Additional funds are essential to insure a satisfactory revision of this instrument, and this legislation would be an appropriate vehicle to support the endeavor.

David Campbell, who was developer of the Strong, does not have the money to develop new norm groups which costs about $20,000 per norm group. Unless you develop a new norm group, even if you collapse both forms and put them into one, it is inappropriate. If I am a woman and there is not a norm group of women veterinarians, I might not ever find out that this might be a good field or that I am like women veterinarians. We need new norm groups for both men and women.

Jane Goodman and I took a look at all the occupations in which there were not double norm groups, for men or women, and we found there is a large enough sample. You had to have 400 to develop new norm groups. There are 400 in most of the occupations not listed on one form or the other. David Campbell would be willing—we have reformed him somewhat—and he would be willing to develop new norm groups but he has to have the money to do it.

I again want to emphasize that I do not want to just point the finger at Strong.

Now another thing that the bill would do would be to stimulate women's centers. There are over 400 women's centers throughout the country, the first one developed in 1960. When our Commission on the Status of Women went before the president and the executive committee at Wayne State University and argued for funds for a women's center, they said: "No, you know, if we have a women's center, then we need a black center, Mexican-American center," and the thing is endless. I contend that the 400 women centers throughout this country are doing a fantastic job of enabling women to really take a look at the kinds of fears they have, the kinds of ways in which they have been socialized.

The reason women are the assistant to the president instead of the president is not just because the system does not allow them or offer them the opportunity, but because they have been socialized to be assistants. We see ourselves as people with derived status. Our status comes from our hubsands, our bosses, from others or whatever. We have been socialized this way. It is a two-way street.

These women centers are addressing themselves to helping women begin to resocialize in their adult years. I think this is why women centers are very crucial.

Unless we have this kind of bill, these centers could go out of business because universities do not want to put hard money into such centers.

I will close with saying that the strength of the bill lies in its potential for promoting numerous strategies to insure that opportunities for equality will be matched by motivation for equality among women of all ages and classes. Equality of women and the end of stereotyped sex roles will liberate men—although we have to do some work on that—will liberate men as much as women.

The goal is to develop human beings who are free to act in ways that are appropriate to their interests and their values and not their sex.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a statement with much insight.

A few years ago at the University of Minnesota we were working on teaching training and counselor training as it affected poor people and minorities. One of the points made was even with good training, more appropriate training, they go into a profession where the peer groups and so on have biases to which you refer, and to quickly succeed and so on in the institution requires them to reject what they have learned and go along with it, along with the system.

From what I gather your studies indicate that these attitudes are very deeply imbedded. As a matter of fact, I think in your study with the counseling not a single one gave different advice, male or female, than that which was described. Do you think it is possible to reform counseling in a way that achieves what you are talking about?

Ms. SCHLOSSBERG. I know the problem that you are referring to. Yes, I think it is possible. We had an interesting experience at Wayne this past year. The Commission on the Status of Women argued for many things and we did get salary equity and we did get an agreement that the administration would give every counselor at the university, 121 of them, placement counselors, financial aid counselors, administration counselors, a morning off a week, and five of us were going to put them through an 11-week inservice training program.

I think this is incredible, that a conservative administration of a university would give their counselor time off for such an activity and then the counselors did not sign up for it. With pressure, 50 finally signed up.

I think this is a very telling statement. If I were to redesign institutions from scratch and start all over, I think I would have a policy of hiring faculty and staff saying that every year we will have in-service training. It might not always be on the same topic. One year it might be on urban problems, another on black problems, and another on counseling.

We expect, and this is part of your job, the continual need for regeneration, for inservice training. I think if it is built into the hiring, then there might be a better likelihood of people participating.

I feel there is hope. If I did not, I would not be here, I think that the counselors have the potential for really liberating young boys and young girls and men and women. Counselors potentially could provide a chance for everyone to have a sounding board, an encouragement, an alternative generated.

I feel very keenly they are not doing the job they should, as none of us are, but I feel a great sense of hope and mission about it. This in fact is my mission in life to do something about counselors.

Senator MONDALE. What can be done to eliminate the sex discrimination in vocational education that has been referred to so often here this morning?

Ms. SCHLOSSBERG. What can be done?

Senator MONDALE. Yes. How would you go about it?

Ms. SCHLOSSBERG. Well, I think legislation makes a difference.

Senator MONDALE. Is it your impression that vocational education is more heavily discriminatory or segregated on a sex basis than other aspects of education?

Ms. SCHLOSSBERG. I think every aspect of education is segregated.

Senator MONDALE. I realize that, but this more than others?

Ms. SCHLOSSBERG. I think it has been traditionally. I think there is some pressure to open that up, but I must say when I look at every aspect of education, I look at dentists, how many women are dentists? They are all assistants and technicians. I think if you look at professional education, it is segregated, except possibly in law schools, where it is loosening up.

Senator MONDALE. My impression is there is a dramatic change in the law schools.

Ms. SCHLOSSBERG. In law schools in general.

Senator MONDALE. What about medical schools? Do we have any figures on how many women are in professional schools, say in dentistry, medicine, law?

Ms. SCHLOSSBERG. There are some figures on availability pools of women who are getting trained in a variety of fields. In fact there is a task force, and are looking at the availability pools.

Senator MONDALE. How many female dentists, for example?

Ms. SCHLOSSBERG. Three percent in 1970—something incredible. In Greece it is a woman's field, for example. This is true of many other occupations. For example, a field like architecture, dominated by men in this country, is in other countries dominated by women. Medicine is an example. There are many women doctors in Russia.

I think we are fairly rigid here, but there is a loosening in a few fields.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

Our final witness this morning is Ann Scott, vice president for legislation, Higher Education Task Force, National Organization for Women.

## STATEMENT OF ANN SCOTT, VICE PRESIDENT FOR LEGISLATION, HIGHER EDUCATION TASK FORCE, NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN

Ms. SCOTT. Mr. Chairperson, members of the committee, the National Organization for Women thanks you for the opportunity to testify on this important legislation.

I would like to start out this morning with a quotation from a book that was written 300 years ago by Bathsheba Makin, Englishwoman, writing in favor of legislation for women. She said: "A learned woman is thought to be a comet that bodes mischief, whenever it appears. To offer to the world the liberal education of women is to deface the image of God in man, it will make women so high, and men so low, like fire in the housetops it will set the whole world in a flame."

NOW hopes that the Women's Education Equity Act will help to feed the fire that has been 300 years in growing.

My name is Ann Scott. I am recently appointed associate director of the American Association for Higher Education and serve as the vice president for legislation of the National Organization for Women. It is for NOW that I appear—an organization of over 600 chapters represented in every State and major metropolitan area, the largest feminist organization in the world.

We are women and men (NOW does not discriminate on the basis of sex) who work actively to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American life. After listening to the testimony this morning, I wish to make very strongly the point that the women's movement is not composed only of women, but also men as well who have the courage and vision to see our goals for an equitable society as theirs.

I hold a Ph. D. in English, and taught for 7 years at the State University of New York at Buffalo. I have published a number of articles on the subject of women in higher education, among them, "The Half-Eaten Apple: A Look at Sex Discrimination in the University," which contained the first affirmative action program written for women in any field. I served as NOW's vice president for legislation when NOW worked for passage of Title II to the Higher Education Act, the extension of Title VII of the 1966 Civil Rights Act and for revision and promulgation of Order No. 4 under Executive Order 11246.

I want to stress, however, that NOW as an organization is not limited in concerns of membership to higher education or even professional persons. Our base and our issues are much wider; higher education is only one component of a very broad, multi-issue program, implemented by 26 national task forces. That component, however, is extensive. Educational issues handled by several of our national task forces: education, Anne Grant; higher education, Ellen Morgan; and women and sports, Judy Wenning.

My own task force on legislation coordinates and pursues the legislative goals of the other task forces. The activities of these task forces are described in the accompanying statement by Ellen Morgan, which I wish to place in the record. It is very well written.

Senator MONDALE. Without objection.

Ms. SCOTT. In her statement, Ellen Morgan establishes not only the kinds of research that need to be done and that it needs to be done by feminists, but makes eloquently and forcefully the point that at present, because the Government is not doing the research, feminist organizations like NOW are having to do it instead. We, in fact, are doing the Government's job.

She cites descriptions of studies not being done because of inability to obtain the necessary funding. She cites the following:

A $15,000 research study of the effects of the generic use of masculine terms in elementary and high school *textbooks*, a grant request turned down by a major foundation on the grounds that in the opinion of the grant officer, the continual use of terms such as "he, him, man" in textbooks has no effect because female as well as male students undoubtedly understand that the terms refer to females equally with males.

She cites a $15,000 research study of the effects of sex-stereotyped children's stories on elementary school children, the grant request turned down by a major foundation on the grounds of the grant officer's belief that sex-stereotyped stories have no effect on the children.

She cites a two-year $100,000 community study of the ways in which community institutions—schools, township governments, police departments, charitable institutions, Girl and Boy Scouts, et cetera—perpetuate and enforce sexism, and the ways in which community groups can successfully bring about desirable change, a grant request denied on the grounds that such a study would not aid other communities across the country, because they would not have the financial support provided in the demonstration community.

I want to make, however, an additional point. You have heard today, and will hear as testimony on S. 2518 progresses, how desperate is the need for research on and by women. The need is desperate because there never has been a formalized program of research on women's educational status undertaken by the Federal Government. Even the women's bureau is not entitled to make a survey of its own. What statistics it publishes are simply the byproduct of larger studies—Census, Bureau of Labor Statistics, et cetera.

You asked for figures on vocational education, the incidence of women in law and medical schools. I submit that the Office of Education should have these figures. They should be available. They should be available in a public report to all of us. They collect those statistics and we do not see them. It is their job.

But the record of these hearings, the publications of the women's movement, the issues raised by NOW and other organizations, makes an unarguable case that such research needs to be done, particularly on the question of whether or not the educational facilities of this country are as available to women as to men, to girls as to boys.

All of these facilities I hasten to remind you, either by tax exemption, Federal grant or by reason of being public institutions, exist somehow at the taxpayer's expense. Yet what are they offering women in the way of education? What the universities are offering is an education designed to turn out efficient little suburban housewives with a minor marketable skill so they can be secondary earners until the babies come, with enough liberal arts so they can enrich their children's lives and not disgrace themselves in front of husband's business associates, so they can read Book of the Month, listen to Walter Cronkite, and participate with other housewives in a little steam-cleaned, organized, community good works.

Above all, it is a class education, designed to perpetuate the women's economically parasitic role by which the middle class still defines her status. It is designed to keep her forever overcleaning her house and family and safely out of the career market, forever underproducing anything but babies, while forever overconsuming the gross national product—the last great leisure class in the world.

We can perhaps understand, though we cannot condone, academic perpetuation of such crippling assumptions as the incompatibility of marriage and achievements outside marriage for women. Such attitudies as old as our history, and institutions, as well as people, are prisoners of the past.

What we cannot do is allow it to continue, because the world can no longer afford to support a vast leisure class.

It will not be easy. From her first day in kindergarten all the way to her doctoral degree, the woman finds that American education is the major social instrument pushing her into that role. A woman, the schools tell us in a thousand subtle ways, is just a "kissin' cousin" of the human family—go play with your dolls.

Her role is determined by the fact of her sex—don't achieve anything but marriage and motherhood. According to the books she reads, all history is made by men: One high school textbook in California actually shows a drawing of Marie Curie looking over Pierre's shoulder while he discovers radium.

She is counseled for jobs, not a career—a job that can be interrupted, so it provides low pay, high turnover employment but not advancement or security—nurse, secretary, teacher. Her opportunities to enroll in schools or courses are limited at all levels.

College admissions are frequently sexually gerrymandered to keep a 50-50 balance, even though women consistently score higher than men on entrance exams. Many schools and departments, even tax supported, have quotas for women, give them fewer scholarships, especially at graduate levels.

I have been reading from an article I published in Educational Leadership in October 1971.

What we are saying is that the research we need to show the effect and extent of this cultural prism cannot be done piecemeal. While separate research topics need to be explored, the research must be built on a strong base. It is time that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare paid some organized and carefully planned attention to the educational status of that half of the population it has heretofore ignored in terms of any meaningful action.

On November 8, 1971, NOW wrote to the Honorable Sidney P. Marland, Jr., then Commissioner of Education, to this effect:

> On December 15, 1969, President Nixon's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities released its report, which alleged:
>
> "Discrimination in education is one of the most damaging injustices woman suffer. It denies them equal education and equal employment opportunity, contributing to a second class self image . . .
>
> "Section 402 of Title IV, passed in 1964, required the Commissioner of Education to conduct a survey of the extent of discrimination because of race, religion, color or national origin. Title IV should be amended to require a similar survey of discrimination because of sex, not only in practices with respect to students but also in employment of faculty and administration members."

Under its enabling legislation, however, the National Center for Educational Statistics can conduct such a survey without Title IV being amended.

> It is NOW's contention that equal educational opportunity cannot be assured to all Americans until both the nature and extent of sex discrimination on every level of education are clearly documented. To deprive women of equal education is to deprive half of every minority. Only the Office of Education has the power and ability to accomplish this momentous task. Therefore, NOW requests from the Office of Education a commitment consistent with its posture on equal opportunity for women that the recommendation of the President's Task Force will be honored.

Since that letter to Commissioner Marland was written, the National Institute of Education has come into being, and provides the right vehicle for a study of this scope and importance. The Government must do it—only HEW can command the resources and generate the information needed to document the case on educational discrimination against women.

HEW can no longer depend on organizations like NOW to do its work. We are tired of it. Only HEW can require school systems to collect and disgorge the facts and statistics necessary to make the study authoritative.

Many of the schools do not collect the information that is needed, and need a directive from the Government to do so.

Asking and getting are two different things. NOW has serious doubts about HEW's concern whether or not women suffer discrimination in education. While HEW, especially the Office of Civil Rights, is great at holding soothing meetings with women's groups whenever we get too pushy about our rights under the laws they are supposed to enforce, and great at issuing toothless mea culpa reports of their own in-house employment, their track record tells the real truth about their indifference to women.

For example, in over 2 years we have seen no results from the OCR in the matter of enforcement of the Executive order except yards of jawbone—which, I remind you, was Sampson's weapon. After 2 years of intense pressure—I honestly do not know how it could have been more intense—OCR has not yet forced educational institututions to undertake meaningful affirmative action.

The report just released by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education shows clearly that women's professional status has not advanced in the schools. Massive discrimination continues, with all its costs to women and the Nation in wasted human resources, stunted aspirations, and economic deprivation.

Indeed, NOW must point out that it should not have been left to the Carnegie Commission to issue his report at all. Such a statement should have been the responsibility of HEW itself, which, after all, has been collecting the statistics at great expense through compliance reviews, and therefore has in its records the most comprehensive materials existing anywhere on the employment status of women in the higher education industry.

While OCR cannot disclose its statistics on specific educational institutions in certain stages of the review process, they can certainly pull together the aggregate figures which could give us the needed overall figure, and make their report available. I should expect OCR to be doing that as a standard part of their compliance effort anyway.

As a further instance of unconcern, the Department of HEW informs us that the guidelines implementing Title IX of the Higher Education Act will not be released until mid-winter 1974—nearly 2 years after the act was passed. Of course in the meantime, universities are not moving to improve the status of women students, nor will they, until those guidelines are issued.

Finally, on the matter of NOW's request in 1971 that the Office of Education undertake a massive study of educational discrimination against women in the United States, it is interesting that NOW has never received a reply. In August of this year I brought the question up in a meeting with the Secretary of HEW and followed up with a letter resubmitting the request. I have yet to receive a reply to that effort.

Senator MONDALE. He is busy in Russia attacking our National Academy of Sciences.

Ms. SCOTT. All of this argues very convincingly that HEW is not going to move unless Congress requires it to. In the face of what I can only describe as aggressive indifference to the discrimination against women, NOW urges that S. 2518 be amended by a new section to require the Secretary of HEW to undertake, through the National Institute of Education, a massive and comprehensive study of the discrimination against women and girls in education and educational employment, from prekindergarten to postdoctoral, similar in scope to that which the Office of Education undertook on the basis of race, creed, color, and national origin under Title V of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Even if the Women's Educational Equity Act is passed, without this amendment the systematic research will not be done that can document our case on a large and comprehensive enough scale to provide the basis for meaningful action, and the schools that socialize us from age 5 on will continue to turn us out as informed cooks and literate brood mares.

That alternative, I put to you, is scarcely in the national interest, nor will it continue to be tolerated by what I have always hoped to be the national ethic.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much. I think we should ask HEW about those regs and ask whether they are going to be put out, when, who is in charge, and it is overdue now. I think we might write the Secretary and ask him about this proposed study, and whether he would agree to do it, if he did, what kind of money you would need; and if he will not, maybe we might amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to require such a study.

Ms. SCOTT. Senator Mondale, we did ask the Office of Education to begin, we offered to consult with them, to begin the examination of what would be required under their budget to conduct such a study, and we never had a response to that letter.

Senator MONDALE. You have no figures on it?

Ms. SCOTT. We were unable to get them. We asked them for figures on what it would cost.

Senator MONDALE. How long ago?

Ms. SCOTT. 1971. And I brought it up again.

Senator MONDALE. We might ask them that.

Where do you get the funds now to carry on your education projects for NOW? Do you solicit it from your members or a foundation?

Ms. SCOTT. We do have a legal defense education fund, but we do not have any of our projects funded. The request that I mentioned, that I read into the record, or the requests were requests from National Organization for Women chapters to foundations, but we have not received any funding on this.

What has been done has been done on an ad hoc basis.

I think when you read through the report that Ellen Morgan wrote, which I am putting in the record, you will find that it is an astounding level of competence and professionalism for unfunded research, published many things on the question of educational discrimination.

Senator MONDALE. Has the Ford Foundation done more than most in this field, or is there any way of knowing?

Ms. SCOTT. Our experience with them has not been too fortunate. I have to say—I have to let myself out here, being legislative director from the National Organization for Women, I stay away from our tax-exempt arm, so I am not too aware of what their approaches have been to the foundation, but we have not had much luck.

Senator MONDALE. Your activities are funded by dues?

Ms. SCOTT. Yes, by dues, practically solely.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

We stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the subcommittee was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.]

# WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT, 1973

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**FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1973**

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 10:10 a.m. in room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Hon. Walter F. Mondale presiding pro tempore.

Present: Senators Mondale, Javits, Schweiker, Stafford, and Cranston.

Senator MONDALE. I am very pleased to call to order the second hearing of the Senate Education Subcommittee on S. 2518, the "Women's Educational Equity Act."

The bill would provide support for a wide range of projects designed to eliminate sex discrimination in education. In my study of the problem, I have been shocked at the pervasiveness of this discrimination.

Education has traditionally been regarded as a "women's field." Yet witnesses before the subcommittee and numerous researchers have demonstrated that in education, it is mostly men who have had the opportunities, and men who have had the power. Women commonly have the less responsible jobs, lower salaries, and fewer scholarships.

One of the best sources of information on this subject was compiled within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It is the report of a task force on "The Impact of Office of Education Programs on Women."

The study, which was released a year ago, documents the existence of sex discrimination in many Government-supported education programs, and in the structure of the U.S. Office of Education and the National Institute of Education.

I look forward to hearing from HEW representatives today about the progress in implementing the task force recommendations in the last year.

One of the things our bill, S. 2518, seeks to do is to support programs that would provide opportunities for girls and women to participate more fully in physical education programs.

Our first witness will discuss the problems girls and women face in attaining high-quality physical education. For years our schools and colleges have spent more tax money on boys' sports than on girls'. College women often have access to the basketball court only when the men are finished, and they rarely have a chance to finance their education by receiving an athletic scholarship.

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Despite all of these obstacles, our first witness today, even though she is a woman, became one of the world's most successful and respected athletes.

We have invited her here to tell us how to make it easier on her successors. At this time I would like to call Billie Jean King, who took time from a very busy schedule to be here, to the witness stand.

At this time I would like to ask Senator Cranston of California to introduce our witness.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, may the minority have a word before the introduction.

Senator MONDALE. Certainly.

Senator JAVITS. Ms. King, we welcome you on behalf of the minority, as does the majority, as a very gallant [illegible] and a fine example of the very best in sports. We are pleased that you have seen fit to come and help us with our work, and we hope that you will continue your interest in government. We welcome you.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Cranston.

Senator CRANSTON. Senator Mondale and Senator Javits, it is a great pleasure to introduce a native Californian, Billie Jean King, to this committee. She is an outstanding example of the use of one's great personal expertise as a tool to advance the cause of equal rights and opportunities for all Americans.

I think it is interesting that Billie, who has done more to educate men than perhaps anyone else in recent times, is now here to discuss the Women's Educational Equity Act.

It is a pleasure to present her to you.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Senator Cranston. We are delighted you could be here this morning.

## STATEMENT OF BILLIE JEAN KING, PROFESSIONAL TENNIS PLAYER

Ms. KING. Thank you very much, Senator Cranston and Senator Mondale.

First of all, what I would like to say is, of course, I am in support of the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973, but I think it should be changed to the Educational Equity Act because grants will be given to both men and women. It was very misleading to me when I started reading the bill, and I recommended that the name be changed. It sounded too big.

I think from my point of view what I would like to express is what athletics has done for me from a personal point of view, and then again to describe the discrimination that I have experienced through my childhood on to my present age which is almost 30—I hate to say it.

As you know I think more and more we are realizing how important it is to be in shape. I know when I am not in shape I cannot think as well. All through my childhood it was always stressed that athletics really built character in boys.

My father was a fireman and mom was a housewife, and my dad was a sports nut; my mother does not like sports at all. So this was a good balance for me, but when I became 11 years old my mother said, You cannot play touch football any more; you must be a lady at all times—whatever that means. I still have not figured that one out.

All I know is that deep inside of me I have loved sports—all sports—and I was oriented in team sports. I can remember one morning at the breakfast table asking my father what a good sport would be for a woman, and right there now that I reflect back, I realized I was already a product of the conditioning that goes on.

Why should I worry about it? But I did. So I got into tennis, which I had never heard of getting into, and playing at the local level I realized that in the school system there was no tennis available in high school.

As far as local associations helping girls in tennis, we were not helped. I can remember examples of boys in the 15 and under age group receiving $1,000 to travel to the east coast to play. I was No. 1 in southern California, and when I went to the association and asked for funds, they said, No. I never could understand why. I was No. 1, and here they were giving a boy who was No. 5 $1,000—and I really needed the money because my parents could not afford it.

I found the girls who go ahead and pursue a career in sports are actually stronger and more of an individual because we are not accepted by our peers as youngsters. We are considered freaks, we are considered masculine—whatever that means—that boys are not going to like us because we like sports.

I was told when you go on a tennis court and you play against a fellow, make sure that you let him win. I am telling you I used to do this. As I started seeing things happen, I realized how stupid and how ridiculous it really is because I love to hit the ball, and I get just as big a charge out of this as Rod Laver does; it is the esthetics of it. It is a great life, and all I know is there have been too many battles from a personal point of view.

It is tough enough to guts it out on the tennis court than to have to worry about all the other aspects of society accepting you as a human being, and we are just now being accepted. I had to wait this long.

Unfortunately I think that for women there are very few professional sports open to us. That is the finishing line for most athletes. That is the standard to which they relate. This is how the public identifies with you. You are the one who gets them turned on through your sport, and then they go out and try to emulate you, and young women never have had other women to look up to. This is just now happening for the first time. As a girl I had to look up to a male athlete.

It was brought out in a series of articles in Sports Illustrated concerning women athletes, that the ratio spent on boys versus girls is 99 to 1.

Senator MONDALE. I have read that series. I think we are going to put that in the record as an appendix.

Ms. KING. I would like to see more and more acceptance through industry, through every other thing that can facilitate letting girls enjoy themselves, and if they love sports, right on. If they do not, that is fine too.

I think that is what the whole women's movement is about: Let us do what we can, but there has to be a vehicle; that means there has to be a little do, ray, me.

If you have any questions, I would be pleased to try to answer.

Senator **Mondale**. Would you say that your experience is a usual one or an unusual one for girls interested in athletics? Have the other girl athletes you talked to had similar experiences, the difficulty in being recognized, the difficulty in believing they can do it and all the rest?

Would you say this is a very common pervasive feeling among women athletes?

Ms. **King**. It is very common but because of our lack of acceptance women athletes have a tendency to bend over backwards to try to be more feminine—"Don't rock the boat"—they try to be more passive.

There seems to be a difference now. Some women are going out and saying what they really feel, but, privately, yes, they tell me these things, but when it comes to saying it in public, they are afraid because they want to be accepted.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you see a change in that now?

Ms. **King**. Very much, but only through those vehicles, because the only way that people appreciate me is through the success I have achieved, because money is a measuring stick. It does not mean that I do not love my tennis—and that is what people in this country have to learn to get rid of, the word "amateur." I think it is the most misleading word ever.

I played tennis as an amateur, I was paid under the table; it is degrading, and I think if we can get rid of this word it will mean something, because it is athletics that turns you on. It does not matter whether it is professional or what it is.

When we are young we are taught and we are manipulated by so many various committees, amateur sports committees—and that is another thing about the current bill; I think they should delete the word "amateur."

People try to separate sports from everyday life, and that is just one part of life. I do not know why we have always done that. I do not know where it started, but we put sports up there in the clouds some place, and it is not; it is a part of everyday living.

Senator **Mondale**. In your prepared statement you recommend that more money be spent on athletic programs for women. Specifically what do you think is needed? Do you think we need more training programs for women physical education teachers, better equipment, or facilities?

Where would you emphasize the expenditure of money if it were available to overcome what you are talking about?

Ms. **King**. At the educational level.

Senator **Mondale**. Can you give me some examples?

Ms. **King**. Elementary, junior high, high school, et cetera.

Senator **Mondale**. Would you say the earlier, the better? In elementary and secondary school?

Ms. **King**. For instance, in junior high school we had a girls' athletic association program at the school, but I had to go play tennis. But I put in 2 or 3 hours after school every day, but we had a point system. Well, I could not use those 2 or 3 hours I practiced toward that.

That used to bother me because I put in more time than some of the girls who stayed after school. We always had to use the boys' facilities when they were finished. We should have our own vehicle.

I know a lot of people that say, let the boys and girls start competing against one another—and I think in time that is going to happen whether I like it or not—I will be long gone—but at least let us have our own opportunity, our own funds first.

I think through education, through the reaction departments—I learned tennis free through the recreation departments in my State, and without that I would not be here today. That is without any question of a doubt.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Javits.

### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHYSICAL AND INTELLECTUAL ATTAINMENT

Senator JAVITS. Thank you.

Ms. King, what is the connection between athletics and physical fitness and intellectual attainment and scholastic attainment?

Sometimes it is a popular conception that people who participate in sports neglect their studies. On the other hand, we have had some extraordinary all-Americans in many fields who were top students. What do you think?

Ms. KING. I think the one thing that athletics help you in is discipline and organizing your time. That is another thing you need, when you are studying, to organize your time. It does take some amount of discipline.

All I know is when I am not working out, when I go to read my retention becomes lower. I am much sharper when I am physically feeling healthy, and any time any of us are ill we realize how important this is.

I do not think that every person is going to be interested in the same thing. You are going to get people who are inclined to go into the academic, and you are going to get people inclined to go into athletics All right. One thing I do not like is the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). They have a complete monopoly—a complete monopoly—on college athletics. A lot of times when a college athlete goes to school, he receives an athletic scholarship. Why does he? Because he is accepted in his particular sport.

It is also an automatic farm system for your pro football, so the schools have gotten so that they are sitting on a gold mine. They go to the networks, they get college football on television for millions of dollars.

What about this poor fellow on the football team if he hurts his knee and never can play pro football? As far as I am concerned, we should get rid of this monopoly—the NCAA—in athletes because they are going to school because of their excellence in sports. If they want to go to school to get their education and then have intramural programs, which I am very much in favor of—but who is kidding whom? College athletes today are professional athletes. I do not know why we try to keep it the way it used to be because it has not really been realistic.

### INJURIES AND ATHLETICS

Senator JAVITS. Do you feel they should in some form be guaranteed or insured against injury, et cetera? Many athletes carry these injuries through life, and quite apart from an inability to play professional football, they have some great difficulty, and often their lives are shortened.

Do you feel we ought to be thoughtful about how to protect them?

Ms. King. In reality what is going to happen is that a college is going to sign a player at their school to represent them. It depends on the contract, what they sign, but the way it is now, you are right; there is no protection for the athlete in the end.

Of course the school wants protection too so that he does not drop out of school before he graduates, because they want the full 3 years of varsity playing, which helps the school get the alumni to donate more money toward the school. It is really a business to them. That is fine; I do not mind it, but let's say it like it is.

Senator Javits. And let's do it down the line so everybody treats it as a business.

Ms. King. That is right.

Senator Javits. You do not feel—I gather the main thrust of your testimony is—that interferes in any way with sportsmanship or the example of sportsmanship?

Ms. King. No. It depends on what you feel is a good sport. I feel a good sport is somebody who tries the very, very best and plays within the rules. I know that I throw my racket, I scream, go crazy, but I know deep down if I try my best and do not try to cheat my opponent it is good sportsmanship. Some players, to be very honest with you, are very quiet, very demure, but they are the ones who cheat. That is what I cannot understand. [Laughter.]

Senator Mondale. We see the same thing in politics. [Laughter.]

Ms. King. It is changing I think.

Senator Javits. Ms. King, to get back to the intellectual relationship of sports, would you conclude therefore that there is not any reason in the world why the good athlete, even the professional athlete, cannot be at the same time an excellent student?

Ms. King. It depends. It is a very difficult question. You are talking about college now?

Senator Javits. I mean there is no inconsistency between the two, as I gather from your testimony. You organize your time and you can do both.

Ms. King. I can do both, but I think it is more difficult on the athlete who is trying to do well in her studies too. I think that we have put too much emphasis on every person going to college and going on. I think that not everyone is meant to go on.

I find through my travel throughout the world the most important thing to me is to be able to communicate with people and share with people, and sometimes being "book smart" just is not where its at. Every person is different, and I do not think the pressure should be on every single person to go to college, to live up to his or her parents' expectations.

I think it is very important that you have self-awareness, but this is part of education, having the self-awareness, understanding yourself, to go ahead and pursue what you want to do.

Senator Mondale. Ms. King, I do not want to detain you very long. Senator Schweiker is waiting to ask questions. I have just one other question. In your travels around our country do you find serious deficiencies in athletic facilities? For example, just to point out what I mean, there are many rural and less settled communities, and people think they live an outdoor life, and yet they have practically nothing in the way of athletic facilities, let us say, during the winter season.

What is your own experience on how spotty is the availability of athletic facilities, whether it is tennis courts, basketball courts or what have you?

Ms. **King**. There is a difference in lack of the various facilities—at least the areas I go to differ. Often teachers and coaches come up to me and ask for suggestions. I was brought up in California, and I did not realize how much I was spoiled with our recreational facilities, so probably I am not the best one to talk on facilities.

I know what I hear from others, and I think of course the biggest problem is when we get to talking about cities—New York City, for example—so many people to take care of, and a lack of land.

I was thinking today I would like to see a tennis court on top of every building, or it could be converted into a basketball court or volleyball court, whatever.

I think people are turning on to being fit again. I see people jogging all over the place. I was in Philadelphia the other day, and these two fellows came down in the hotel lobby in their track outfits, and it was cold outside, and they just opened the door and started jogging. I think that is great.

But in the past girls were afraid to do that because we did not want anybody to see us, you know, but I think that is finally changing.

### PARKING LOTS FOR TENNIS COURTS

Senator **Javits**. Our chairman might give his own example of his unusual use of parking lots for tennis courts. Thank you very much.

The Chairman mentioned before we came in the fact that in one city—I forget the city—parking lots were used on weekends for tennis courts as an example of how space can be utilized for athletic purposes. I thought it was a very good example. I think you mentioned Hawaii.

Senator **Mondale**. Senator Schweiker.

### ENCOURAGING SPORTS FOR GIRLS AND WOMEN

Senator **Schweiker**. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Billie Jean, I am very glad to have you with us here this morning. I saw the whole tennis match, and you did an excellent job, and I am one of the tennis buffs who would not think of challenging you. You can put me in that category; I know my limitations.

Seriously though I would like to ask you one or two questions about your statement, because I think one of your paragraphs goes to sort of the heart of the issue which you say, "By the time a girl reaches high school or college she is often well programed to think of sports as extraneous." I want to go a little further than that.

It seems to me some of our social mores in our society say that all sports are unladylike or tomboyish, and in addition if you jump over that hurdle then there is another discrimination that it is all right for girls to play certain sports, that is, tennis, skating, swimming, horseback riding, but do not go beyond that.

The statistics you have provided here are quite accurate, quite realistic in terms of the money the physical education department has spent on men versus women.

The question I have to ask you if if you had equality of funding, would you not have immediately some real problems? How would you solve them, such as breaking down among girls and women the concept of the unladylikeness and also the matter of jumping from say swimming and tennis to some other sports, and how do we educate society on the social mores that obviously are involved?

Ms. KING. I think it starts at home. I know mothers come to me with daughters and now they are very concerned. They hold their daughters on their laps, and all of a sudden they think, I want my little girl to have the same opportunities as my little boy; so she starts thinking, but she does not have those opportunities.

I think that is one of the factors that is starting to change. At least I notice this because more people come to me and tell me what they are thinking.

I got the same shots in 1966 that I made in 1973. Now, why all of a sudden do people know me? I was world champion in 1966. I used to come home and get off the plane, and they did not know anything; right?

It is the vehicle. It is getting the attention of the sports writers as an athlete, and not writing the stories such as "Cute blue eyed petite da-da boo-boo." That is the way they talk about women athletes. They do not start a story about a male athlete the same way.

I remember speaking before women. I went to a breakfast one time with Gloria Steinem to speak, and there were all women there, and I froze. I am used to seeing all men—sports writers, press—there are really very few women involved. I think we have to change. Through having these programs and being accepted, we will be accepted in time. That is the one thing I have tried to make happen ever since I was 11 years old.

I was not allowed in a photo because I did not have a tennis dress on. I know that day I wanted to change tennis. That is just a small part. Now I would like to see all women sports changed and help men in sports too. What about the boy who is not very athletically inclined? Why should he be a put down too if he is a book worm and he does not like sports?

How many times do you see parents pushing him—"Come one, Freddie, get out there. You can do it. Show daddy and show mommy."

Forget it. Let people do their own thing where their abilities are. There are so many women who have potential to be athletically inclined, and they are just afraid, but if through these educational programs, if you do fund athletic programs and girls find out it is fun, they find out that they are accepted, in fact they are looked up to, this will change everything.

It is when they go home and tell their family how much fun they are having, and you see your children happy and their bright eyes—that is the best way.

I always have felt to change, we have to have professional vehicles. That is why we want tennis to be professional, very much, because we are the motivators, and I really think that is where it is at for a professional athlete. I feel I can motivate and get other people turned on to my sport, but the only way I could do it is to be a professional, and that is the truth.

As an amateur, I was saying the same things I am saying to you today, and nobody could care less. So we have to have examples for young people to look up to, and the better you do something, the more responsibility you have to yourself as well as to others, because young people come up to me and ask me a lot of things about drugs—about everything.

I do not know how to answer all their questions, but at least they have identity. They identify for the first time in their lives. Little boys come up to me and say, I want to be a great tennis player like you. They don't think of me as a woman or man; all they know is I am an athlete.

I think it is at the educational level, it is through our textbooks, it is through sports, whatever field you are talking about, but we have wasted half the potential of this country.

It makes me sad from that point of view, but I would like to see it changed. I think it can change. It is changing, and it is not unladylike to be assertive. Women are starting to have more self-respect, walking tall, and I think a lot of it is just because of that match against Roberta Riggs the other day. [Laughter.]

I cannot believe what that did, and what made me happy is, I was world champion for the fifth time, and that turned me on the most from self-satisfaction, but what I could do through that match against Bobby who—I know that is going to help a lot, and that really makes me happy because it is getting people turned on.

It is just amazing how many husbands are washing dishes this week really. You would not believe that. Well, maybe you do. Maybe you are all at parties. I do not know, but I am really turned on to getting other people to change their attitudes and to start having more fun, both men and women.

I think it has been a good thing for men, too, because they have a lot of pressure on them. They get a lot of ulcers because of what society has done to them. "You have to be the breadwinner; you have to make straight A's; you have to do this and that."

Everyone is not the same, and some people are just going to get C's in school—boy or girl—but the pressure is always on the boy to get in there. "You are going to be a breadwinner some day; you are going to be a doctor some day; you are going to be a lawyer." Parents should let their children find themselves, not live through their children.

I find that so much in sports like little league and all that. I have a younger brother who is a professional baseball player with the San Francisco Giants. I think the reason we are here today is that our parents did not live through us; they stood behind us. There is a big difference.

We did not have a lot of money, but we knew they loved us, and they were there. But parents really want their children to do what they wish they had done. I cannot stress that enough.

That is all I wanted to stress. I am very disorganized when I am speaking. I get emotional.

Senator **Schweiker**. I thank you very much. That is all I have.

Senator **Mondale**. Senator Stafford.

### ENCOURAGEMENT OF WINTER SPORTS IN VERMONT

Senator **Stafford**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to express my appreciation to you, Ms. King, for your being here. I have read over your statement, and it indeed points up an imbalance in the expenditure of funds in colleges and universities that ought to be corrected.

I have followed your career with admiration, and since I come from a part of the country where we have lots of cold weather, I cannot resist referring to skiing which is one of our favorite sports in northern New England. In my State of Vermont, most of the public schools set aside at least one-half day a week of schooltime and send all of the students of both sexes to the ski slope to learn to ski, starting when they are young.

I do not think in skiing there is much discrimination as far as the availability of funds to both sexes are concerned, and maybe this is one of the reasons that the only two Gold Medal winners we have had in the Olympics have both come from Vermont: Andrea Meade back in the 1950's and Barbara Cochrane at the Olympics at Tokyo, Japan.

So I wonder if this is what you have in mind as an equal opportunity for both sexes to participate in sports, just what the Vermont schools are doing in skiing.

Ms. **King**. That is very much what I am talking about. Of course, we have been in sports where most women, such as Senator Schweiker mentioned with skiing, tennis, golf, swimming, that is exactly where most of the women athletes have turned to. I think there is a very big discrimination against women in team sports like softball, track, and a lot more attention should be paid to this. Track and field sports might be one of the best sports on which to concentrate some effort because there is no equipment needed. We can all go out and run 10 yards or 100 yards without needing any equipment.

But it is going to be a long process. Nothing is going to change quickly. I think it is great that New England is doing that.

However, I feel it is up to the women to get together and decide to do their own thing. I hope the younger people today do not have to go through what I had to in tennis because it took away from my performance level. Any time you take away from your performance level as an athlete, it tears you down in some way.

At Wimbledon I was in more than 16 or 20 hours of meetings to get the Womens' Tennis Association started. I locked the doors and I said, "You are not going to get out until we have an association." Now they are happy that they have had some effect on their conditions.

I really do not know that much about what is happening on the educational level as far as funds are concerned, maybe you have some suggestions for me.

Senator **Stafford**. We are here to get suggestions from you and the other witnesses.

Ms. **King**. I like to learn from others because you see your own situation from your own local viewpoint, but other views are important. I travel so much I get caught up in a very small world at times.

Senator STAFFORD. From reading your prepared text, I gather part of your message to us today is that it is highly beneficial for every person to be involved in athletics, to have an athletics experience, a real one in grade school and on into college, and this benefit carries over into your subsequent life as well as the period when you were a student.

Ms. KING. That is true. I think one thing sports teaches us is no matter at what level of competition you may be, first of all you have to have funds; second, it teaches you the day-to-day life of winning and losing , to accept it, to go forth and try to prove yourself as a person.

One day you play great, the next day you play badly, and you cannot understand why, but that is the way everyone feels.

It teaches you a lot about yourself, about other human beings, about how they react under pressure. As Bobby Riggs always said, a woman always chokes and folds under pressure. He really meant that. Some of his statements were pure show biz.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much. While this morning's testimony is concentrated on athletics, I gather that is your belief that the bias and this problem you have described in the educational system is pervasive in all of its aspects, and that through the educational system we should try to eliminate these notions, these mores, and prejudices that you faced in athletics.

Ms. KING. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. I think your statement has been excellent, that you have shown you are an intelligent spokeswoman for what we call equity in education, and we are most grateful to have had you as a witness.

Thank you very much.

Our next panel is from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

## STATEMENT OF CHARLES B. SAUNDERS, ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION; CHARLES M. COOKE, JR., DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATION, EDUCATION; PETER HOLMES, DIRECTOR, OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS; HOLLY KNOX, COCHAIRPERSON, COMMISSIONER'S TASK FORCE ON WOMEN IN EDUCATION; CORINNE RIEDER, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR CAREER EDUCATION, NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION; AND JOAN THOMPSON, FEDERAL WOMEN'S PROGRAM COORDINATOR, U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION, REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, A PANEL

Mr. SAUNDERS. Thank you very much, Senator Mondale. I am happy to be here this morning. I am Charles B. Saunders, Jr., Acting Assistant Secretary for Education. Before I begin my prepared statement I would like to introduce the rest of the panel here with me.

On my right is Mr. Charles Cooke, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation (Education) ; next Mr. Peter Holmes, Director of the

Office for Civil Rights; on my left is Ms. Holly Knox, who is Chairperson of the Commissioner's Task Force on Women in Education; next to her is Ms. Corinne Rieder, Assistant Director for Career Education at NIE; and on the extreme right is Ms. Joan Thompson, OE Federal Women's Coordinator.

In the spring of 1972, several forces came together to prompt stepped-up Office of Education action on sex discrimination in education: rising public concern about the widespread pattern of sex discrimination throughout the education system, enactment of Title IX of the Higher Education Act establishing new Federal powers to move against sex discrimination in education, and a call for greater HEW efforts by former Secretary Richardson.

In response, Sidney P. Marland, who was then Commissioner of Education, moved to eleminate sex biases from Office of Education programs. As a first step, Dr. Marland established an ad hoc employee task force to study the impact of OE programs on women—including research programs subsequently transferred to NIE—and to report to him on policy changes needed to correct abuses. In November the task force submitted a 141-page report.

Senator MONDALE. I think it is superb.

Mr. SAUNDERS. We are very proud of it. I think it is a remarkable job of telling us of the dimensions of the problem and what we have to do.

Senator MONDALE. Also a shocking document, I think, when you realize the extent of discrimination in American educational institutions.

Mr. SAUNDERS. It is certainly clearly documented.

Noting that HEW's education agencies had demonstrated scant awareness of the inequities women face in education, the task force summed up the problem this way:

> Chiefly because the agency has not been concerned about the use of its funds to deny women equal opportunity, OE and NIE funds directly support discriminatory practices of all kinds. In some cases, these are sins of commission-unequal pay for equal work, for instance. In others, they are sins of omission—for example, the failure to recruit women actively in predominantly male training programs.

The group went on to point out examples of sex biases in a number of program areas. They reported that:

Vocational and training programs are helping to channel women into a narrow range of relatively low paying occupations.

Some curriculum and public information materials developed under OE or NIE sponsorship are sex biased.

Men overwhelmingly dominate top administrative positions in OE and NIE funded projects.

Many of the personnel training programs continue to train women and men for the educational roles traditionally dominated by their sex.

OE funds support discriminatory student aid and admissions practices.

Sex biases in research may be producing distortions of our knowledge of the education needs of women.

Task force recommendations covered a wide range of policy and procedural suggestions. Briefly, they urged HEW action in several broad areas: combating sex discrimination directly supported in OE and NIE programs, strengthening existing enforceemnt procedures, educating the public both about the problem and about the legal mandate to end sex discrimination, using agency funds to encourage students to explore new roles for both sexes, expanding opportunities for women with special needs, and strengthening our data base on women in education.

During the winter and early spring of 1973, the Office of Education's Deputy Commissioners developed plans for implementing most of the task force recommendations.

Agency responses have been completed and compiled. The Office of Education's final response is a 72-page document which makes specific commitments for action including timetables for accomplishing objectives.

These commitments to make agency policies and practices more responsive to the needs of women are unprecedented and varied. For example, OE has agreed to:

Develop a guidebook on avoiding sex and racial biases in instructional, training, and public relations materials, for distribution to materials development projects funded by OE.

Review agency funded curriculum and information materials slated for national distribution for sex and racial biases.

Notify potential developers of instructional and public relations materials through guidelines, RFP's and other such documents that, as a condition for funding, their materials must be free from race or sex stereotyping.

Assist adult women who wish to continue their education by alerting all adult education programs that increasing educational opportunities for women is now agency policy.

Have OE contract officers send the Office for Civil Rights Higher Education Guidelines to each institution of higher education applying for OE contracts. This package is designed to assist institutions of higher education in understanding requirements and responsibilities under Executive Order 11246. A similar technical assistance package is being developed by OCR for potential contractors who are not institutions of higher education.

Collect additional data by sex in five OE education surveys, and publish an annual summary of the agency's statistics on women in education.

Include an informal check on compliance with Title IX assurances in regular program site visits.

Emphasize to education and related groups, the need for action to end sex discrimination through speeches by top OE officials.

Provide graining for OE staff concerning biases facing women in the agency's own employment practices.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Saunders, would you submit for the record the list.

Mr. SAUNDERS. I would be glad to.

[Information referred to and subsequently supplied follows:]

December 5, 1973

EXHIBIT 8

## OFFICE OF EDUCATION PROGRESS REPORT: IMPLEMENTING RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE TASK FORCE ON THE IMPACT OF OE PROGRAMS ON WOMEN

In August 1973 the Office of Education committed itself to an action plan for implementing many of the recommendations of the Commissioner's Task Force on the Impact of OE Programs on Women, which submitted its report one year ago. This is a brief summary of the recommendations, OE's commitment for action, and actual progress to date.

Recommendation 1 dealt with informing OE aid recipients of their obligations under Title IX, by

a. Including a statement on Title IX in program documents and requiring applicants to submit an assurance of compliance, and

b. Distributing detailed information on Title IX to aid recipients.

OE Commitment:

OE agreed to insert a sex discrimination provision into appropriate documents, and to mail Title IX regulations to education institutions when they become available.

Action to date:

A section on Title IX has been included in the OE General Provisions Regulations, published in September. Since these regulations apply to all OE programs, the Title IX section was added here rather than inserting it in dozens of separate program regulations. In addition, the General Council's office has drafted a sex discrimination provision for insertion in other program documents such as guidelines and application notices.

Each Deputy Commissioner has appointed someone to review program documents and insert the provision. Of course, Title IX regulations are not yet available; however, the contracts office is sending out copies of the Higher Education Guidelines on Executive Order 11246 to institutions of higher education which are potential contractors, during final contract negotiations.

Recommendation 2 urged that OE provide more detailed information on the implications of Title IX to school personnel, by

a. conducting workshops on Title IX, and

b. having the Commissioner urge Chief State School Officers to take a leadership role in ending sex discrimination in education within each State.

OE Commitment:

OE agreed to conduct public briefings on Title IX, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, and Executive Order 11246. The Commissioner also agreed to stress the subject with the Chiefs.

Action to date:

There are no definite training plans yet, but information on Federal laws is distributed on request within the agency. OCR Director Holmes spoke briefly at the June 17 Council of Chief State School Officers on Title IX and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. A more extensive briefing is intended once Title IX regulations become effective.

Recommendation 3 suggests that OE include informal Title IX compliance checks in regular program site reviews.

OE Commitment:

OE will note suspected or obvious conditions of discrimination and report them to OCR, since OCR is the agency charged with enforcement.

Action to date:

OE staff and OCR have discussed the possibility of developing checklists for OE site reviewers. However, checklists will not be developed until Title IX regulations are completed, and site review compliance checks will have to await this.

Recommendation 4 asks OE to see that materials developed with OE funds for national distribution are not sex biased. This would include:

a. having regulations or other program documents state that avoiding sex stereotyping is a condition of funding for the development of these materials,

b. developing a guidebook on how to avoid sex biases, and

c. having program staff review materials for sex bias, and reviewing materials already under development for sex biases.

OE Commitment:

The Deputy Commissioners agreed, in effect, to all these points.

Action to date:

On (a.) no action has been taken while the General Counsel's office considers the legality of requiring this as a condition of funding.

The guidebook has not yet been developed. The Office for Public Affairs has included a discussion on avoiding sex biases in its booklet for agency project officers (now in draft).

Several Deputy Commissioners and individual program heads have appointed a specific staff person to review appropriate materials for sex bias.

Recommendation 5 asked OE to help eliminate sex discrimination in career education by

a. establishing the elimination of sex segregation as one of career education major goals, and stressing this in agency materials on career education,

b. emphasizing in program documents that eliminating sex segregation is a priority, and

c. requiring model programs to report success in including students of both sexes in all career education activities.

OE Commitment:

None, on the grounds that a response requires coordination with NIE.

Recommendation 6 asks that training programs seek to equalize the proportion of men and women, in training areas where one sex is underrepresented. It urges that program guidelines require applicants to submit plans for improving these proportions and to report annually on their progress.

OE Commitment:

The Deputy for Occupational and Adult Education said he intends to notify State departments of education of the desirability of avoiding underrepresentation of one sex. The Institute of International Study promised to insert a sentence in its program manual expressing the hope that all eligible candidates will be informed of training opportunities. Teacher Corps reported it would encourage projects to recruit males, who are underrepresented in entry level elementary school teaching positions.

Strongest action was envisioned by the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, which agreed to ask applicants for plans to overcome imbalances if statistics show a group is underrepresented. In addition, BEH agreed to solicit proposals to develop recruitment procedures to insure equal access for both sexes, as well as for minorities and the handicapped.

Recommendation 7 urges OE to promote more women in top positions in projects funded by the agency, by

a. asking applicants for discretionary programs to submit data on top project staff by sex,

b. encouraging applications from women in program documents, and

c. placing women's organizations on appropriate mailing lists.

OE Commitment:

The agency rejected (a.) and (b.) as unnecessary and cumbersome. However, it did agree to inform women's groups of discretionary programs and to place women's organizations on program mailing lists.

Recommendation 8 asks OE to review study questionnaires for sex biases.

OE Commitment:

The agency's forms clearance office has been made responsible for such a review, and the Women's Program Office will prepare forms for detecting sex bias.

Recommendation 9 recommends that OE avoid single sex research studies, with limited exceptions.

OE Commitment:

Research projects will use samples of both sexes except in unusual circumstances. The Commissioner agreed to notify the offices affected by this requirement.

Recommendations 10-14 did not apply specifically to OE.

Recommendation 15 requested that the Commissioner of Education and other top agency officials speak before key education groups on their responsibilities for ending sex discrimination.

OE Commitment:

The Deputy Commissioner for Occupational and Adult Education promised to write a letter on his commitment in this area, and agreed to have the DCOAE task force develop speech materials and a basic speech. The Deputy Commissioner for Higher Education agreed to discuss Title IX in speeches before the National Student Association and the National Council on Education. One Deputy agreed to advise the Commissioner of possible appropriate occasions for such speeches.

Action to date:

The subject of sex discrimination has been raised in several speeches by OE officials.

Recommendation 16 urged the Office for Public Affairs to use its media channels to help educate the public about inequalities facing women in education, through

a. a documentary film,

b. a traveling exhibit,

c. a pamphlet on women's legal rights in education, and

d. articles in OE's monthly news magazine.

OE Commitment:

OPA concurred with all these but (b.). It felt that a traveling exhibit is not cost beneficial.

Action to date:

American Education magazine has published two articles on sex discrimination, one dealing with women's legal rights.

Recommendation 17 urges OE to spend program funds for projects aimed at helping children of both sexes to encourage new roles, including:

a. developing educational and guidance materials and approaches,

b. developing teacher training materials on avoiding sex biases,

c. disseminating a bibliography of unbiased instructional materials, and

d. seeing that exemplary career education projects include instruction on women and work.

OE Commitment:

No specific commitments were made on (a.) or (b.). While limited staff and current priorities make (c) impossible, the Office for Public Affairs does refer interested persons to organizations compiling such lists. The Deputy Commissioner for Occupational and Adult Education agreed that his Task Force will assure the inclusion in career education projects of materials to encourage participation of both sexes in all occupations. In addition, the Teacher Corps promised to encourage projects to train interns to recognize and overcome sex biases.

Recommendation 18 urges OE to encourage education institutions to expand educational opportunities for parents with child-rearing responsibilities through:

a. making day care an allowable cost in OE programs training adults, and

b. setting aside $2 million for projects to help school-aged parents.

OE Commitment:

No commitment was made on (a), pending a General Counsel decision about whether this would be legal. Recommendation 18(b) was rejected because of OE's limited discretionary authority.

Recommendation 19 urges expanded part time education through:

a. insuring that all OE programs serving adults accept part-time students, and

b. urging institutions to make Federal student financial aid to half-time students proportionate to their enrollment.

OE Commitment:

The Deputy Commissioner for Higher Education did not accept the recommendation. Several programs already serve part-time students; and 19 (b) was rejected on the grounds that priority should be greatest need not full or part-time status, and that the longer period part-time students are in school makes financial aid for these students more expensive. The Deputy Commissioner for Occupational and Adult Education said his Deputyship would encourage states to provide continuing or occupational education for women, both for full and part-time study.

Recommendation 20 asks that OE guidelines for programs for adults state that women wishing to continue their education be given special consideration. It also asks that this population be a special target group for Educational Opportunity Centers and that the new discretionary set aside under Title I of the Higher Education Act fund programs serving this group.

OE Commitment:

None. OE reported that this group cannot be singled out for participation unless legislation mandates it, and that no funds were budgeted for Title I HEA.

Recommendation 21 urges a public service information campaign on new opportunities for women in education, by

a. distributing materials encouraging young women to enter male-dominated occupations, and

b. providing information on student financial aid to women in the home.

OE Commitment:

OE rejected the first as a Labor Department rather than an OE function. OE did assist the Labor Department in updating portions of their Handbook on Women Writers. However, the Office of Public Affairs agreed to develop a briefing paper for women in the home wishing to resume their education or training.

Recommendation 22 urges OE to experiment with new educational approaches designed to expand opportunities for women.

OE Commitment:

None, on the grounds that this responsibility rests with NIE and the Fund for Postsecondary Education, not OE.

Recommendation 23 asks OE to collect additional data by sex in ten of its regular surveys.

OE Commitment:

OE agreed to collect these data in seven surveys.

Action to date:

Additional information by sex has been added to one of the seven surveys: information on tenured faculty the HEGIS Employees on Higher Education survey.

Recommendation 24 urges the collection and reporting of data on OE programs by sex, including:

a. participation data,

b. data on top project staff, and

c. summaries of projects to improve educational opportunities for women.

OE Commitment:

OE did not accept recommendation (a), feeling it would be time consuming and limited value without staff to evaluate the data. However, it did agree to have the Women's Program Office make recommendations for expanding the number of programs collecting these data. OE did agree to (b), and rather than have all programs provide the summaries mentioned in (c), it agreed to have some programs provide them.

Recommendation 25 asks that evaluations include an analysis of sex discrimination in the program or area covered.

OE Commitment:

OE has not yet responded to this recommendation.

Recommendation 26 suggests a series of studies on sexism in education. It specifically asks that OE sponsor a study of the barriers women and men without a high school diploma face in resuming their education, and that the current OE study on barriers to women's participation in postsecondary education include a control group of males.

OE Commitment:

OE has not yet responded to the request for a study on barriers facing women without a high school diploma. The agency did agree to include a male control group if the current barriers study is continued.

Recommendation 27 urges OE to expand dissemination of information on women in education, through:

a. publishing special statistic reports on women in education and highlighting sex breakdowns in regular statistical reports, and

b. including participant data by sex in annual program reports.

OE Commitment:

The National Center for Educational Statistics has agreed to (a). On (b), the Women's Program Office has agreed to report evidence on discrimination in any programs collecting data by sex.

Recommendation 28 asks that OE establish educational equality for the sexes as an official agency priority. It also urges:

a. tracking implementation of the recommendations through the Operational Planning System (OPS), and

b. setting aside 10% of the funds of several programs for projects furthering opportunities for women.

OE Commitment:

OE rejected the recommendations to make this an official priority and to set aside program funds for these purposes. The agency plan does include having the Women's Program Office decide which recommendations should be tracked through OPS.

Recommendation 29 urges training for OE employees on:

a. Title IX, and

b. on employee biases against women.

OE Commitment:

OE agreed that Title IX training is needed for program directors, and other OE regional staff. It also plans equal employment training for all staff.

Action to date:

OE staff have discussed the possibility of Title IX training with staff in the Office of Civil Rights. The Equal Employment Opportunity Office is developing an EEO training program.

Recommendation 30 asks establishment of a 12 person Women's Action Office.

OE Commitment:

OE agreed to establish a Women's Program Office, probably comprised of 3 to 5 people.

Action to date:

Preliminary steps toward establishment of the office have been taken. A formal announcement is expected shortly.

Recommendation 31 suggests convening an ad hoc committee to recommend on selection of top personnel in the Women's Action Office.

OE Commitment:

None. OE rejected this recommendation, preferring regular merit promotion procedures.

Recommendation 32 urges designation of Women's Action Advisors throughout OE, to link programs with the Women's Action Office.

OE Commitment:

None. OE favored an employee advisory committee but preferred to leave final decisions to the Women's Program Office.

Recommendation 33 asks OE to increase the proportion of women advising on agency policies by:

a. seeing that advisory council recommendations aim to bring advisory council membership to 50% female,

b. setting the same goal for program review panels, education teams, technical assistance personnel and consultants, and adopting a standard consultant fee,

c. appoint task forces approximately 50% female, and

d. having agency officials report periodically on the male/female make up of all these groups.

OE Commitment:

On recommendation 33(a), the Commissioner agreed to ask the Secretary to accept 50% as a goal. On (a)(b), and (c), OE agreed that each Deputy Commissioner will review and report on the composition of task forces, review panels, and consultants annually, and that plans for improving these ratios will be drawn up wherever possible.

Mr. SAUNDERS. At the same time, NIE established an ad hoc committee composed of senior staff to react to the recommendations made by the task force. The committee accepted 18 of the 221 task force recommendations applicable to NIE, and, I might add, the committee added several recommendations of its own.

Since that report NIE established an Office for Human Rights to deal with minority and womens' concerns—both within the Institute and in the education community at large. The Office for Human Rights is now setting deadlines for activities and designating offices responsible for implementing the recommendations.

The Office for Civil Rights has prepared a draft of the regulation applicable to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Public Law 92–318). The draft has been circulated for comment to other departmental and appropriate agencies, such as the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. A final draft will be forwarded to the Secretary for his approval.

It should be noted that under the statute, the regulation must have the President's approval.

During the interim period, the Office for Civil Rights has sent memoranda to public school superintendents, State agency officials, vocational schools, and presidents of higher education institutions broadly outlining the nondiscrimination requirements of Title IX.

The 1973 OCR survey of school district contains questions relevant to Title IX. For example, school districts have been asked to report on classes or groupings comprised of 80 percent or more students of one sex. On the joint EEOC–OCR employment form, public school systems must furnish various data on the sex composition of teaching and administrative staff. In addition, OCR is designing other survey forms which will assist in the undertaking of compliance activities in this area.

Mr. Holmes from OCR will be glad to provide any further details on the status of Title IX desired by the subcommittee.

I would like to talk briefly about the departmental position on S. 2518. The bill would authorize the Secretary to make grants and contracts for a wide variety of activities to promote women's educational equity. These activities include: The development of unsexbiased curriculums; training programs; support of women's educational programs and resource centers; improved career, vocational, and physical education programs; and the preparation and dissemination of materials for use in the mass media.

The bill would also establish within the Office of Education a 21-member advisory council to advise, review and make recommendations for the administration of programs covered in the bill, and to coordinate related activities within the Federal Government. Appropriations totaling $80 million over the next 3 fiscal years would be authorized.

The administration strongly supports the objective of educational equity for all, but we do not regard the method set forth in the bill for achieving this objective as necessary or desirable.

Senator MONDALE. That is what you said on child abuse. You are always with us in principle. It's like Truman said: "You are always for minimum wage; the lower the minimum, the better."

Are you people ever going to be for anything?

Mr. SAUNDERS. I think we have some very strong commitments in this area.

Senator MONDALE. The rhetoric is beautiful. How many women are in top education administration positions since that report came out?

Mr. SAUNDERS. I can get you the figures.

Ms. THOMPSON. We have seven, I think.

Senator MONDALE. Seven out of how many? Super grades?

Ms. THOMPSON. We have 7 I think out of 53. I can doublecheck that for you.

[The information referred to and subsequently supplied follows:]

**As of November 27, the Office of Education had four women in Grades 16–18, out of a total of 40.**

Mr. SAUNDERS. We feel, Senator, that the stated objectives can be attained through determined efforts under existing authorities and resources available to the Department, along with other efforts at all levels of government and by affected organizations, institutions, and groups.

One aspect of the bill which we consider especially unnecessary and duplicative is the proposed Council on Women's Educational Programs. The Department already has a 19-member Advisory Committee on the Rights and Responsibilities of Women which was established in the public interest under the authority of Executive Order 11246.

Senator MONDALE. What kind of budget does that council have?

Mr. SAUNDERS. It is a very active committee.

Do you know what the budget is for the Advisory Committee?

Ms. THOMPSON. I do not know.

Senator MONDALE. Would you submit that?

Mr. SAUNDERS. It is around $200,000, I understand. We will supply it.

[The information referred to and subsequently supplied follows:]

**The Secretary's Advisory Committee is operating under the continuing resolution at the same level as last year, $116,000.**

Mr. SAUNDERS. Seventeen of the members, including the chairperson—who is currently Judge Elizabeth Athanasakos, are designated by the Secretary. The Director of the HEW women's action program and the Director of the Federal women's program are ex officio members.

This committee advises the Secretary concerning policies, programs, and other activities of the Department relating to the status of women. In developing and assessing such recommendations, the committee reviews policies, programs, and other activities of the Department as they relate to women. An annual report is submitted. Also, the committee has a five-member education subcommittee.

For these reasons we would oppose the enactment of S. 2518.

Instead, we favor a three-part strategy in HEW designed to achieve educational equity for women. First, the Education Division will continue our efforts to implement most of the recommendations made by the Commissioner's Task Force Report.

Second, the Office for Civil Rights will enforce and monitor Title IX of Public Law 92–318 and other legal prohibitions against sex discrimination.

And finally, we will move forward under existing authorities with projects to equalize educational opportunities for women. Our activities under the first two approaches have already been described.

I would like to look now more closely at the third strategy. Some program funds have already been committed to activities for women's educational equity. We consider this response only a beginning and we intend to commit more funds to this purpose is the future.

The Office of Education, for example, has funded two national conferences on the subject. The Center for Human Relations of the National Education Association received a grant from OE of $34,850 to set up a working conference on sex role stereotypes in the classroom.

The Conference, which was held in November 1972 brought together individual scholars, feminists, educational associations, and related groups to join in a collaborative effort for increasing teachers' awareness of the damaging effects of sex role stereotypes in the classroom.

Another, to be held in January under the auspices of the Institute for Educational Leadership a George Washington University, will produce materials aimed at helping those at the State and local level to work toward eliminating sex discrimination in the schools.

An OE grant was made under the Education Professions Development Act to the University of Puget Sound in Tacoma, Wash., for "Project Upward Mobility." It provides a 1-year fellowship program for women, including a 7-month internship in universities and related governmental agencies. One group of interns has completed the program and received master's degrees, and a second group is now in training.

The goal is to develop the capabilities of the participants to work at administrative levels in higher education. In fiscal year 1973, OE provided $75,000 for program development and $54,000 for stipends. This year, $90,000 will be provided for program development.

The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education has also supplied moneys for a number of projects. In fiscal 1973, its first year of operation, the fund provided resources totaling $544,890 for seven major programs aimed solely at the postsecondary needs of women.

Some examples of the types of grants made are: To operate a service center designed to improve the career and educational opportunities of adult urban women, to establish a women's center for career and life planning and the integration of career and liberal arts curriculums, and to develop and produce a video-cassette law school course on women and the law.

Additionally, a number of other projects, while not dealing solely with women, have major components responsive to women. These include projects aimed generally at developing new approaches to nontraditional learners, such as mature people resuming their education and part-time students.

I would like to submit for the record at this point a more detailed list of the seven women's programs sponsored by the fund.

At the new National Institute of Education, funds totaling $2,002,966 were obligated during fiscal year 1973 for 12 research and development projects.

Senator **Mondale**. Where did they go?

Mr. **Saunders**. I have a list of them which I would like to submit. I will attach it as exhibit 1.

[The information referred to in exhibit 1 follows:]

EXHIBIT 1

## FISCAL 1973 WOMEN'S PROGRAMS

## FUND FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

1) Barat College $49,572
Lake Forest, Illinois

For the restructuring of the college to meet postsedondary educational needs of non-college-age women.

2) San Jose College $51,781
San Jose, California

For a program of services designed to facilitate the re-entry of minority women into postsecondary education.

3) Women's Inner-City Educational Resource Service $209,890
Boston, Massachusetts

For the operation of a service center designed to improve the career and educational opportunities of adult urban women in the greater Boston area.

4) Mills College $75,600
Oakland, California

To establish a women's center for career and life planning and the integration of career and liberal arts curricula.

5) Seton Hall University $46,994
Newark, New Jersey

For the development and production of a video-cassette law school course on women and the law.

6) Women's History Research Center, Inc. $50,457
Berkeley, California

For developing local collections of materials sensitive to women's needs by (1) intensive training of library interns in the methods of the library, and (2) on-site consultations to libraries interested in providing services to women.

7) Purdue University $60,596
West Lafayette, Indiana

For reducing the attrition of women students in the sciences.

Additionally, a number of other projects while not solely dealing with women, do have major components responsive to women. These include projects aiming generally at developing new approaches to non-traditional learners.

## FISCAL YEAR 1973 FUNDING BY NIE OF WOMEN'S PROGRAMS

### 12 Projects--Total Funding: $2,002,966

### THE CAREER EDUCATION PROGRAM (Field Initiated Studies)

1) "The Role of Women in American Society" $54,646.50
Educational Development Center
Newton, Massachusetts

To develop a film and related teaching materials on alternative life choices available to women.

2) "Sex as a Factor Influencing Career Recommendations of Public School Guidance Counselors" $9,691.31
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

To study whether a student's sex alters the career recommendations of a counselor and other aspects of student-counselor relationships.

3) "The Impact of Colleges and Universities on Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Women" $9,976.00
University of California, Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara, California

The study compares the differential effects of attending college or university upon the educational and occupational aspirations of men and women.

4) "The Impact of Educational Attainment on Fertility and Female Labor Force Behavior" $92,021.00
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

To estimate the structural aspects of the labor market to answer the questions:

(a) What are the costs and benefits of education in economic terms?
(b) If women not currently working enter the labor market would they receive benefits similar to those presently working?
(c) What is the economic cost to women of bearing children?

5) "Study of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Guidance Materials" $35,000 (in-house study) NIE hopes to continue this study in FY 74.

The project has three objectives:

(a) to determine operational criteria for sex bias and sex fairness in career guidance materials inventories
(b) to issue a request for proposals to have the operational criteria applied to published inventories and placed in a consumer's manual
(c) to identify further research needs and secondary analyses

As this study is large in scope, it has a senior consultant and an outside Planning Group to help identify issues to be addressed. A workshop is planned by the end of February in which counselor educators, test constructors, and publishers, psychologists, and others interested in women and counseling will be invited to react to the tentative operational criteria for sex bias and sex fairness.

6) "Educational Development Project" $1,636,000. (NIE hopes to continue this program in FY 74).
Educational Development Corporation
Providence, Rhode Island

This project is designed to appeal mainly to women interested in reentering the labor force, although it does not confine itself solely to women. The program is developing techniques for telephone counseling and guidance, surveying local educational resources, collating information about careers, and updating information and procedures to train and supervise paraprofessional telephone counselors.

The EDC counseling effort is directed at persons who are non-college educated and home-based. Its focus is on career-decision making and career information rather than on job placement.

## OFFICE OF RESEARCH GRANTS

7) "The Effect of Interest in Material on Sex Differences in Children's Reading Comprehension" $9,977.00
Illinois University
Urbana, Illinois

To explore the effect of interest on comprehension by supplying boys then girls high versus low interest reading materials.

8) "A Study of Women as Graduate Students" $44,743
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Virginia

To determine whether or not discrimination against women as graduate students exists, and how it is shown, e.g. male-female differences in admission rates, financial support, treatment as students, types of institutions, and fields of study.

9) "Modification of Female Leadership Behavior in the Presence of Males"
$22,000
Educational Testing Service
Princeton, New Jersey

The three objectives of this study are to:

(a) investigate whether task-oriented leadership behaviors of females differ from those of males
(b) determine experimentally whether leadership behaviors of females are modified in the presence of males
(c) validate a novel technique for assessing interpersonal interaction.

10) "Massachusetts Law, Women and Vocational Education" $69,110
Organization for Social and Technical Innovation
Newton, Massachusetts

To examine the interaction between a State law and an educational system to learn more about the dynamics of their relationship to each other. The law which is the subject of this study is one which enlarges educational opportunities for girls attending public schools in Massachusetts. The educational system studied is vocational education.

11) "The Effect of Prenatally Administered Progestins on IQ Achievement, Personality Development and Gender Role Behavior in Children." $9,998
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York

To examine the effect of such progestins in children in controlled research groups.

12) "Classroom Interactions and the Impact of Evaluation Feedback: Sex Differences in Learned Helplessness" $9,804
Illinois University
Champaign, Illinois

The study addresses the problem of children's maladaptive responses to failure on school-related achievement tasks.

## FISCAL YEAR 1974 NIE PROPOSED PROJECTS--AWAITING FINAL POLICY DECISIONS BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON EDUCATION RESEARCH

Because of our undecided Fiscal Year 1974 funding, the Council has not yet made firm policy decisions covering new initiatives for the Institute.

### CAREER EDUCATION PROGRAM

1) Continuation of the "Study of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Guidance Materials" $165,000

   (See the description under FY 73 funding project #5)

2) Continuation of the "Educational Development Project" $500,000

   (See the description under FY 73 funding, project #6)

3) "Career Education Needs of Minority Women" $60,000

   The focus of this program is the employment problems minority women face when entering the labor force.

4) "Study of Linkages for Women between Education and Labor Market with Specific Emphasis on Role of Counseling" $10,000

   To review and synthesize existing literature and evaluate existing programs as they relate to:

   (a) the problems women face prior to entering the labor force
   (b) a survey of the existing guidance programs for women in high schools and colleges with an emphasis on special counseling programs which are primarily concerned with women
   (c) a review of the theoretical and empirical investigations which handle special problems which relate to guidance and counseling for women (achievement conflicts, sex role stereotyping, etc).

### OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND EXPLORATORY STUDIES

In September, the Office of Research and Exploratory Studies brought on board Dr. Jean Lipman-Blumen as their specialist in research on and about women.

Dr. Lipman-Blumen has proposed four projects for funding by the Office of Research and Exploratory Studies, though again we must mention that the Council has not yet made decisions covering these and other new initiatives.

5) "Vicarious Achievement Project" $3,000

This project is designed to assess the problems of vicarious modes of achievement in both females and males. Direct achievement, and fear of success and failure are alternative modes of achievement also studied within this research design. Vicarious achievement in female subjects is a special research focus within this project. The project is designed to address the question of whether girls are taught to meet their needs for achievement primarily through the success of an important male figure in their lives, (i.e. father, brother, husband) rather than through their own achievement efforts. How does this affect their educational and career as well as other important life choices and styles? (A follow-up project is tentatively planned to develop training modules for classroom resocialization to direct achievement modes. The follow-up project is not included in this budget figure).

6) "Life Plans of Married Women" $60,000

This research represents a follow-up of a 1968 study of 1900 married women. The original data were collected prior to the advent of the women's movement, which presumably has had considerable impact on certain segments of the female population.

This follow-up study will assess the degree to which the movement and other factors have made an impact upon the educational and occupational aspirations of a group of married women.

7) International Interdisciplinary Conferences on Male/Female Roles in Advanced Industrialized Societies" $50,000 (to cover first conference/workshop)

The first conference, now in the planning stage, would focus on the occupational and educational problems facing women in industrialized societies. The conference would have an international and interdisciplinary perspective on the problems discussed. The conferences are designed to bring together researchers, educators, policy formulators and implementers, as well as mass media personnel. A major purpose of these conferences is to synthesize existing and current research and plan future research that will form the basis for an informed social policy.

The initial conference is planned for late 1974 and there is a good possibility that foreign countries will supply matching funds to support it.

8) Women in Education Literature Review $4,000

This is a review of the literature concerned with women's education. It will attempt to look at the historical, sociological, economic, psychological, occupational, and educational literature that focusses upon issues in women's education. It will be an effort to assess the quality and direction of research on women's education. This review will be done in order to identify those areas of research which should form the focus of NIE's research effort on women's roles.

Senator Mondale. Let us just take a look at those for a minute. Where did those grants go?

Mr. Saunders. They are attached to the testimony. These include: A study to determine whether a student's sex alters the career recommendations of guidance counselors, a film and teaching materials on alternative life choices available to women for use in schools, a study to determine whether discrimination against female graduate students exists, a study on the modification of female leadership behavior in the presence of males, and a career information service aimed mainly at women interested in reentering the labor force.

I would like to submit for the record at this point a more comprehensive list of programs funded by NIE. This list includes a number of projects that NIE would like to fund, based on the administration's budget request. As you know, the Congress has reduced that request substantially, and adjustments in the plans may be necessary.

Senator Mondale. Reduced in what request?

Mr. Saunders. NIE budget request. We asked for $162 million.

Senator Mondale. What percent of the increase would go to fight discrimination if you were granted it?

Mr. Saunders. Do you have a specific figure on that?

Ms. Rieder. Somewhere in the neighborhood of an additional $1 million to $2 million, in addition to the roughly $2 million worth of projects already underway.

Senator Mondale. What did we appropriate?

Ms. Rieder. The Senate appropriated $75 million.

Senator Mondale. What did you request?

Mr. Saunders. We requested $162 million.

Senator Mondale. So out of $95 million, do you intend to set aside another $1 million for this project? We are talking about $90 million you said we did not give you, and you are planning to give how much of that to this project?

Mr. Saunders. Between $1 million and $2 million.

Senator Mondale. That is doing better. Go ahead.

Mr. Saunders. It is really difficult to tell that. We would have to wait and see what kind of package came in.

In conclusion, Senator, we intend to continue and expand our support for these kinds of projects under existing authority. At the same time, we are realistic enough to know that in order to achieve a maximum commitment from the many programs and agencies that could make a contribution, continuing encouragement and followup will be necessary.

The Office of Education will establish within the next few weeks a Women's Action Office, thus implementing the key recommendation made by the Commissioner's Task Force report.

This office will oversee OE efforts to secure equal opportunity for women within the agency and in education at large. It will also serve as a clearinghouse for information on discrimination against women. So, in other words, within the next few weeks one of the key recommendations will be accomplished and in place.

Also, the Commissioner has assured me that he will commit funds this year for initiating additional programs aimed at achieving educational equity for women.

In sum, Mr. Chairman, we are confident that the actions outlined above, both completed and contemplated, together with the rising concern and action by other Federal agencies and State, local and private organizations will produce progress toward the objectives shared by the Department and this subcommittee. This Department is committed to doing its share but these problems can only be solved by increased awareness, concern and committed action by the whole society.

This concludes my prepared statement, Mr. Chairman, and I will be happy to respond to any questions you or other members of the subcommittee may have.

Senator **Mondale**. Why have no final guidelines for Title IX been issued a year after enactment?

Mr. **Saunders**. Title IX guidelines are still in draft form.

Mr. **Holmes**. If I may, Senator, as the statement indicated, the regulations under Title IX are now being circulated within the Department and among other departments.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you expect those to be promulgated shortly?

Mr. **Holmes**. Comments are back to us now, and we are reviewing them. The document should go to the Secretary in the very near future.

Senator **Mondale**. When do you think the guidelines will be final?

Mr. **Holmes**. I would expect them to be issued for comment by the first of January.

Senator **Mondale**. What do you mean, in the Federal Register?

Mr. **Holmes**. Yes, the Federal Register, issued for comment at the beginning of the year.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you agree with the Task Force recommendations that title IX should be amended to increase educational institutions not now covered, such as military academies, single sex public undergraduate colleges, private undergraduate colleges, and the rest?

Mr. **Saunders**. The Office of Education response to that recommendation was that it was too early at this point, it was unrealistic to talk about amendments to the law which was just on the books, and we are still in the process of trying to implement it.

We would like to see the law implemented before we consider further changes.

Mr. **Holmes**. If I may, it is not altogether clear to me, Senator, why the exemptions were legislated from the legislative history in the hearing record. The legislation is packed full of such exemptions, as you note. I do not know what went into Congress' consideration.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you support removing those exemptions?

Mr. **Holmes**. I have to agree with Mr. Saunders too that I think we need more information. I think the Congress might very well want to consider that issue itself as well.

Senator **Mondale**. But that is why you are up here, to find out your point of view. You do not have one?

Mr. **Holmes**. No; I do not at this point in time.

Senator **Mondale**. Title IX applies to all education programs and NSF, the Defense Department and other agencies should also be enforcing it. What steps have you taken to coordinate their efforts with those of HEW?

Mr. **Holmes**. Yes. We have circulated a number of memoranda and the regulations in draft form to all such agencies. The Office of Civil

Rights at HEW has been delegated the lead responsibility in developing the regulations. The regulations as developed have been circulated to all these agencies for their views and comments.

[Additional information supplied for the record follows:]

On July 27 the then-Director of the Office for Civil Rights, J. Stanley Pottinger, wrote to the Office of Management and Budget requesting a delegation of authority to the Office for Civil Rights to take the lead in drafting a regulation to implement Title IX and to coordinate that process with the other agencies. A copy of the letter requesting the authority and the letter granting the authority are attached as Exhibits 2 and 3.

[The exhibits referred to follow:]

## EXHIBIT 2

July 21, 1972

Mr. Frank Carlucci
Deputy Director
Office of Management and Budget
17th & Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Carlucci:

Our office is presently in the process of developing regulations governing the administration of Title IX of the "Education Amendments of 1972", P.L. 92-318, which prohibits sex discrimination in certain Federally assisted programs. Ms. Gwendolyn Gregory, who is the project director for the planning and writing of regulations to administer Title IX, has been in contact with Mr. William Boleyn of OMB concerning the need for coordinating the writing and establishment of regulations or administrative guidelines under Title IX which may arise in agencies other than HEW. Mr. Boleyn has suggested we write directly to you on this matter.

As you may know, Section 902 of the Education Amendments Act provides that "each department or agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance in any education program or activity...is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of Section 901... by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability..." This section also requires that the President approve all such regulations.

At the present time there is no delegation of authority, either by Executive Order or other direction, to coordinate enforcement of Title IX. Our first concern, therefore, is to ensure that there is an Administration-wide promulgation of uniform and consistent regulations. In order to ensure this result, I would like to suggest that your office designate the Office for Civil Rights, HEW, as the agency responsible for coordinating the development of uniform regulations. Following this task, it will also be helpful if your office would delegate responsibility for coordinating Title IX t activities among departments and agencies enforce regulation is established. Since the vast ariety of education sex discrimination problems may be enforced in this office, we are inclined to elieve that the coordination function should be assigned here; however, that decision need not be reached at this time, unless you wish to make the assignment now.

If you are agreeable to these suggestions, I would appreciate your designating someone to meet with Ms. Gregory at the earliest possible time in order to bring the matter to a conclusion and inform all relevant departments and agencies of it. Ms. Gregory can be reached at Code 13-37603.

Thanks for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) J. Stanley Pottinger

J. Stanley Pottinger
Director, Office for Civil Rights

GGregory:bkw 7/21/72

EXHIBIT 3

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET,
*Washington, D.C., August 28, 1972.*

Mr. J. STANLEY POTTINGER,
*Director, Office for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. POTTINGER: In reference to your letter of July 27, I agree that uniform and consistent regulations should be developed to implement the provisions of Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972.

Since your Office has had extensive experience with the general problem of sex discrimination in educational institutions and will have the major responsibility for enforcing the provisions of Title IX, I would like you to take the lead in the development of uniform regulations. This should be done, as you suggest, in conjunction with the other agencies having Title IX responsibility.

If I can be of further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,

FRANK C. CARLUCCI,
*Deputy Director.*

Senator MONDALE. Do NSF, the Defense Department and others have offices designed to enforce Title IX educational programs under their aegis?

Mr. HOLMES. Each of the agencies of course has an Office of Equal Opportunity under basically Title VI authority, and I think that those offices within these other agencies are the ones that will address Title IX.

Senator MONDALE. What is the name of the person in charge of Title IX enforcement in the Defense Department?

Mr. HOLMES. We can give you that name for the record.

Senator MONDALE. Is there a full-time person there?

Mr. HOLMES. I do not know if there is a person designated solely for Title IX. There is an office for Civil Rights to which we circulated the Title IX regulations, and that office like our office in HEW has responsibility for enforcing the law.

We can provide for the record the name of the head of that office.

Senator MONDALE. You know what I am asking. I can look that up. I want to know whether there is anybody over there at the present time working on the problem. That is my question. Do you know the answer?

Mr. HOLMES. Mr. Cooke advises me there is a Federal women's coordinator at the Department of Defense.

Senator MONDALE. Is there one in NSF, do you know?

Ms. THOMPSON. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Can you find that out and submit that for the record? In other words, it is my impression that the focus is just starting to develop in this problem, but I think it will be accelerated if someone is in charge.

Mr. HOLMES. Yes; most definitely.

[The information referred to and subsequently supplied follows:]

On September 22, 1972 the then-Director of the Office for Civil Rights, J. Stanley Pottinger, sent to each of the agencies or Departments which fund education programs and activities a letter notifying them of Title IX and asking them to designate a person to coordinate Title IX activities. A copy of that letter is attached as Exhibit 4. We received a communication from each of the agencies, either by telephone or in writing, stating the name of the designated person.

The representative for the National Science Foundation (NSF) is Arthur J. Kusinski, Assistant to the General Counsel. The representative for the Department of Defense is Lt. Col. Marilyn J. Russell, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Defense (MRS) (EO). Attached as Exhibit 5 is a complete list of the designated persons for all agencies. On October [illegible], 1973 I sent to each of the agencies and departments a copy of the Title IX regulation and asked for their comments. A copy of that letter is attached as Exhibit 6. We have received comments from the majority of the agencies and are in the process in evaluating them. At the request of some of the agencies, such as the Environmental Protection Agency, representatives of the Office for Civil Rights have met with Washington and Regional enforcement staff to brief them on Title IX and on the regulation.

(Exhibits 4, 5, and 6 follow:)

## EXHIBIT 4

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

SEP 22 1972

Mr. Jerome Shuman
Director
Office of Equal Opportunity
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C. 20250

Dear Mr. Shuman:

Our office is in the process of developing a regulation to implement Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (P.L. 92-318) which prohibits sex discrimination in federally assisted education programs and activities.

As you may know, Section 902 of the Education Amendments of 1972 provides that "Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any education program or activity ... is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of Section 901 [prohibiting sex discrimination] ... by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability ..." This section also requires that the President approve all such regulations.

In order to assure an administration-wide promulgation of uniform and consistent regulations, our office has sought direction from the Office of Management and Budget to coordinate the development of regulations among the several agencies which fund education programs and activities. I have enclosed a copy of a letter from Frank Carlucci, Deputy Director of OMB, requesting this office to take the lead in this process.

Our regulation is presently in first draft form and will be sent to you for comment shortly.

I would appreciate your designating someone to meet with Gwendolyn Gregory, who is the project director for the planning and writing of the regulation. Ms. Gregory can be reached at code 13-37603. During the period of October 10-21 please contact Burton Taylor at Code 13-34418.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) J. Stanley Pottinger

J. Stanley Pottinger
Director, Office for Civil Rights

Enclosure

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| | | | | | | | | |
| CR | King | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |

EXHIBIT 5

Mr. M. Stanley Kelly
Deputy Director
Equal Opportunity Programs
Agency for International Development
New State Building
Washington, D. C. 20523

Ms. Maxine Cade
Office of Equal Opportunity
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C. 20250

Mr. Gil Cordova
Office of the General Manager for EEO
U. S. Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D. C. 20545

Mr. John B. Russell
Director of the Office of
Facilities and Operations
Cibil Aeronautics Board
1824 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.'
Washington, D. C. 20428

Ms. Alice Helm
Deputy Assistant General Counsel
Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C. 20230

Lt. Col. Marilyn J. Russell
Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Defense (MRS)(EO)
Department of Defense - Room 3-B-936
Washington, D. C. 20301

Mr. Frank Kent
Director of the Human Rights
Division
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 19th Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20506

Mr. Richard Murray
Deputy General Counsel
Office of Emergency Preparedness
17th and F Street, NW - Room 215
Washington, D. C. 20504

Mr. Carol Thomas
Director, Office of Civil Rights
and Urban Affairs
Environmental Protection Agency
401 M Street, SW - Room 735
Washington, D. C. 20460

Ms. Josephine Trevathan
Policy Coordinator
Office for Civil Rights
General Services Administration
Washington, D. C. 20405

Mr. Kenneth F. Holbert
Director, Office for Civil Rights
Department of Housing and Urban Development
Washington, D. C. 20410

Mr. William H. Hunter
Equal Opportunity Specialist
Office of the Secretary
Office for Equal Opportunity, Title VI
U. S. Department of the Interior - Room 1345
19th and Constitution Avenue, NW.
Washington, D. C. 20240

Mr. Winifred Dunton
Attorney Advisor
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of Justice
Indian Building
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Mr. Arthur A. Chapin
Director, Office of Equal
Employment Opportunity
Department of Labor - Room 7415
Washington, D. C. 20210

Mr. Lawrence Vogel
Civil Rights Coordinator
National Aeronautics and Space
 Administration
Washington, D. C. 20546

Mr. Joseph R. Schurman
Associate General Counsel (Humanities)
National Foundation on the Arts
 and the Humanities
1800 G Street, NW.
Washington, D. C. 20506

Mr. Arthur J. Kusinski
Assistant to the General Counsel
National Science Foundation
1800 G Street, NW.
Washington, D. C. 20550

Mr. Arnold Feldman
Deputy Director for Compliance
Small Business Administration
1441 L Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20416

Ms. Gladys Rogers
Special Assistant for Womens Affairs to the
 Deputy Under Secretary for Management
Department of State - Room 4253'
Washington, D. C. 20520

Mr. Jim Burroughs
Administrative Audit
Division of Personnel
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Mr. John Frazier
Director
Office for Civil Rights
Department of Transportation
Washington, D. C. 20590

Mr. Odell Vaughn
Chief Benefits Director.
Veterans Administration
810 Vermont Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20420

## EXHIBIT 6

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

OCT 15 1973

Mr. M. Stanley Kelly
Deputy Director
Equal Opportunity Programs
Agency for International Development
New State Building
Washington, D.C. 20523

Dear Mr. Kelly:

I have enclosed a copy of a draft Regulation which is being circulated within the Department for comments and will then be sent to the Secretary. I would appreciate your sending me your agency's comments by November 2.

Since the President must approve the Regulation prior to its first publication, we would like to have the benefit of your comments prior to our sending it to the White House.

If you have any questions, please contact Gwendolyn Gregory on 962-1801.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) Peter E. Holmes

Peter E. Holmes
Director
Office for Civil Rights

Enclosure

FILE
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| OFFICE | SURNAME | DATE | OFFICE | SURNAME | DATE | OFFICE | SURNAME | DATE |
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Senator MONDALE. At the time of the task force report women constituted only 11.6 percent of personnel at the GS–13 level or above in the office of Civil Rights. Has this changed in the last year, and, if so, how much?

Mr. SAUNDERS. I think that is a mixed picture, Senator. There has been some improvement in some grades, but overall it does not look good. For example, while we have some statistics here, since 1970 the percentage of women of the group in grades 16 and above has gone from 4 percent to 11.4 percent.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have a figure that is the same for the 11.6 percent figure? In other words, your report said in grades GS–13 or above there were only 11.6 percent women a year ago. What is the comparable percentage today? Do you have that?

Mr. SAUNDERS. I do not.

Ms. THOMPSON. We have statistics worked in a different way for GS–13 through 15 and above and from a statistical basis I would say we have not improved. We have fewer women in those grades, GS–13 and above.

Senator MONDALE. So it is probably the case that the percentage figure is lower?

Ms. THOMPSON. I would think so, but I can furnish it to you.

[The information referred to and subsequently supplied follows:]

**Attached as Exhibit 7 is a summary of the employees of the Office for Civil Rights by race and sex as of September 30, 1973. Of the 201 total figure for employment of GS–13's and above, 21 are females which constitutes only 10.4%.**

**However, OE's percentage was 18.3% when the Task Force report was written and is still 18.3%.**

[Exhibit No. 7 follows:]

EXHIBIT 7

OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS HEADQUARTERS & REGIONS ON BOARD AS OF SEPT. 30, 1973

| Grade | Female | | | | | | Male | | | | | | Grand total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Black | White | Spanish surnamed | American Indian | Oriental | Total | Black | White | Spanish surnamed | American Indian | Oriental | Total | |
| 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 16 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 15 | 3 | 3 | | | | 6 | 12 | 16 | 1 | | | 29 | 35 |
| 14 | 3 | 4 | | 1 | | 8 | 24 | 26 | 5 | | | 55 | 63 |
| 13 | 3 | 4 | | | | 7 | 31 | 34 | 8 | | | 73 | 80 |
| 12 | 7 | 9 | 2 | | 2 | 20 | 15 | 11 | 2 | 1 | | 29 | 49 |
| 11 | 9 | 7 | 3 | | 1 | 20 | 7 | 6 | 4 | | | 17 | 37 |
| 10 | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| 9 | 21 | 18 | 2 | | | 41 | 11 | 7 | 5 | | | 23 | 64 |
| 8 | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| 7 | 38 | 11 | 3 | | 1 | 53 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 63 |
| 6 | 26 | 8 | | | | 34 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 35 |
| 5 | 27 | 19 | 3 | 1 | | 50 | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 4 | 54 |
| 4 | 15 | 16 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 37 | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | 39 |
| 3 | 13 | 5 | 6 | 1 | | 25 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 29 |
| 2 | 3 | | 2 | | 1 | 6 | | | | | | | 6 |
| 1 | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Total | 169 | 104 | 25 | 4 | 8 | 310 | 107 | 107 | 30 | 3 | 2 | 249 | 559 |

Senator MONDALE. Can you give us that figure? That does not sound as if there is very much progress. That is backwards, not forward.

Does the Office of Civil Rights have enough staff to enforce Title IX?

Mr. HOLMES. Not presently, Senator. We received in the supplemental appropriations a total of 18 additional positions for Title IX. We have in fiscal 1974 appropriations, which is currently coming through the legislative process, 165 additional staff to our office, approximately 50 persons in the higher education area, and 30 in the elementary and secondary education area.

The majority, I think, of that number will be working with Title IX. I might mention in that connection that we want, from an enforcement standpoint to incorporate Title IX enforcement with our basic Title VI reviews, and therefore people may be designated or man-years designated for both statutes.

You will find our investigators enforcing both Title VI and Title IX.

Senator MONDALE. Can you tell us whether you get all the staff you request for Title IX enforcement?

Mr. HOLMES. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. How much are you spending now annually in Title IX enforcement?

Mr. HOLMES. There are 18 people that we received from the supplemental appropriations, Senator, for Title IX enforcement. Of course more than 18 people are involved in the Title IX work right now, even though the regulations have not been finally published.

Senator MONDALE. Do you feel that you have a staff now to do the job?

Mr. HOLMES. I think with the additional 165 in fiscal 1974 appropriation we will know better after getting them on board and training them whether we have enough or not.

Senator MONDALE. In the task force report it was shown that a number of OE and NIE career education publications appeared to show sex bias—women working as nurses, men as doctors, men as the supervisors, et cetera.

The report said OE has funded the development of an extremely sex-biased career guidance test as part of career guidance.

There is a film which shows women in limited and stereotyped female occupation roles and sex stereotyping is evident.

Have these materials been withdrawn from distribution?

What is happening to these documents?

Mr. SAUNDERS. The film was withdrawn from circulation. A great deal of work has been done by the public affairs office of OE to make sure that some of these sex biases do not appear in future publications.

Senator MONDALE. Is anyone on your panel familiar with that part of the task force report?

Mr. RIEDER. Yes, I am.

Senator MONDALE. Could you tell us where you are on that?

Ms. RIEDER. The specific project at Johns Hopkins University is not being funded this year. We have a major study that has been initiated on sex bias and sex fairness in career guidance counseling, changes in curriculum. This is under the Ohio State University contract. So we have made changes in every one of these.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you think that the criticism of the task force report still bears some validity, however?

Ms. **Rieder**. Yes, I think so. I think one of the major problems though is really getting at a definition in career guidance and counseling material as to what is sex bias and what is sex fairness. This is what we hope to come up with within 2 or 3 months.

Senator **Mondale**. How much would it cost to conduct a Coleman-type study on sex discrimination? Do you think such a study would be worthwhile?

Mr. **Saunders**. NIE is planning quite a major study. I had better turn the microphone over to Corrie.

Ms. **Rieder**. We have proposed to conduct about a $500,000 study to both collect and improve our data base on women in education and also to begin developing some promising interventions. To do a Coleman-type study I think would be on the order of several million dollars.

Senator **Mondale**. Would that be valuable, in your opinion? You may have seen the testimony we received at our last hearing in which some of the organizations interested in this field felt there was much that we needed to do in terms of basic data and material and information on sex discrimination that can only be developed by this type of effort.

Ms. **Rieder**. It is questionable. I think what we really have to do is to mine our 1970 census for data on career patterns, employment patterns, et cetera, of women.

If you were to speak to Jim Coleman now, I think you would find he questions whether, given our level of statistical techniques, more studies like that are necessary or whether we need to get small kinds of studies, microstudies.

I think it is a question now of whether we should be spending several million dollars to get a Coleman-like report or whether we know enough, and what we really need are some specific interventions.

Senator **Mondale**. What has HEW done to inform individual women of their rights under Title IX? Are there any efforts along that way?

Mr. **Holmes**. Yes, Senator. We have issued a number of memoranda, as the statement mentioned to you. We have asked those in higher educational institutions and also in elementary and secondary institutions to insure that policies contained in Title IX be disseminated among faculty and student bodies.

Also we have developed a poster that has been very popular and has been widely circulated among both elementary and secondary schools and higher education institutions on the issue of sex discrimination in employment, as well as the treatment of students.

Mr. **Saunders**. I might add, Senator, that the Office of Education has published an article on the subject of Title IX in American Education last fall, one of the recent issues.

Senator **Mondale**. Could you have someone on your staff who has worked with this task force, which I think is most impressive, give us an updating on what has happened in each area of recommendations?

Mr. **Saunders**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. I would like a point-by-point breakdown for example in personnel, administration, education, salaries, and the rest, so we can have a quick checklist of what kind of progress has been made in each of the recommendations of this task force.

Mr. **Saunders**. We have a report on each action, on every action taken by the Office of Education on each recommendation of the task force. I will ask for an overall summary of what has been done.

These are commitments which the Office has just made within the last few months.

Ms. **Thompson**. At this point we have primarily just begun the groundwork. Very few of the recommendations have been implemented per se. Most of the bureaus and divisions have appointed either a task force or individuals to work on implementation.

The primary holdback has been establishing the Women's Action Office since that office will be responsible for monitoring the various recommendations, as well as keeping up with the activities of other bureaus and responsible people.

We have also started developing materials with standard clauses similar to the Title VI message, that is, nondiscrimination relative to sex.

Mr. **Saunders**. I would like to submit for the record the detailed statement of the Office of Education response to the task force recommendations.

Senator **Mondale**. I would like to have kind of a layman's response to a checklist of criticisms found in the task force. For example, if it were 11.6 in GS–13 and above a year ago, what is it today? That way we can find out whether we are going up or down or whether they are being paid more or less. That is a simple statistical thing, it seems to me. I feel you could have that kind of survey for us, so that we could put that in the record.

Mr. **Saunders**. We can get that for you.

[Information referred to may be found on p. 149.]

Senator **Mondale**. I understand Holly Knox, who is here with you today, was the chairwoman of the Commissioner's Task Force on Women and Education.

Ms. **Knox**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. Maybe you can help on that.

Ms. **Knox**. The task force study covered a very broad range of areas. Employment, although that is maybe the key to getting everything else done, was tangential. Actually we were asked to look at OE programs and the problems women have under those programs.

We did deal with employment because we felt it was key to long-term program policy changes. However, the recommendations dealt solely with program problems and getting changes in policies.

Senator **Mondale**. For example, day care should be an allowed cost in order to serve people in the childbearing age?

Ms. **Knox**. OE has rejected that recommendation, and NIE accepted it in an altered form.

Senator **Mondale**. What does NIE want to do?

Ms. **Rieder**. Instead of using the phrase "day care," we would prefer to use the phrase "child care." We feel that funds should be available for various forms of child care, not just day care. We are working on it right now.

Senator MONDALE. Who are you talking to?

Ms. RIEDER. We have mainly had in-house discussions on whether we do provide funds for research and training in that area.

Senator MONDALE. Research?

Ms. RIEDER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. We are having quite a fight with this administration right now. They want to deny day-care services for any mothers who are near welfare and need day care to have a job. I gather that is the sort of thing this task force is talking about.

Ms. KNOX. Right. We were talking about day-care services for women or men who are being trained in OE programs, such as fellowship programs, manpower programs, and such.

Senator MONDALE. I see.

Ms. KNOX. We were concerned with the need to enable more women to get into those programs, so we keyed our day-care recommendation to encouraging their participation in HEW training programs in education.

Senator MONDALE. Good luck. If you can get me some information on that, I would appreciate it.

Senator Stafford.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have just a few questions.

One I believe would be for Mr. Saunders. As a practical matter how far down into this Nation's public school systems does HEW reach to insure nondiscrimination in all education programs in which the Federal Government has a statutory role?

Mr. SAUNDERS. We will be reaching the entire public educational system with the publication of the regulations. We have very normal and regular channels through the States, the chief State school officers, superintendents of the school systems of this country, to inform them of the regulations and the requirements.

Mr. HOLMES. Senator Stafford, if I may respond to your question, I am with the Office for Civil Rights. From the enforcement standpoint it is a multifaceted problem, the problem of sex discrimination at every level of education.

We in our basic enforcement program under the regulations, as well as under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, do conduct investigations at the elementary and secondary education level, and that is what we will be continuing to do under Title IX.

Then you have the question of the program funded by the Office of Education and the work that is being done and the research in that area to create greater awareness and sensitivity to many of these issues. So it is a multifaceted problem, and it does reach every level of the education system.

Senator MONDALE. Do you expect it will be reaching into the areas that Ms. King described this morning in her prepared statement, that is the imbalance in participation in sports, for example, that currently exists?

Her statement brought out quite vividly this imbalance.

Mr. HOLMES. Yes, that is very much a part of the Title IX coverage.

Senator MONDALE. One additional question which may be a little repetitious, but I would still like to clarify it. With the NIE appropriations cut from $130 million in fiscal year 1973 to $75 million in fiscal year 1974, assuming the conference report does get adopted, what will the effect of this be on NIE research and development activities related to women?

Mr. SAUNDERS. It will be ongoing, but we obviously will not be able to do as much as we had hoped to do.

Ms. RIEDER. Since receiving that figure the staff people in the Institute have been reordering NIE's plans and priorities to present to the National Council on Educational Research which will be meeting in December. As the Institute's policymaking body, the Council will decide how the $75 million will be allocated. As you know, funds for research on women amounted to 2 percent of our program budget in fiscal year 1973. I am hoping in fiscal year 1974 that NIE will be able to keep the figure at $2 million.

Senator MONDALE. You mean they might cut it?

Ms. RIEDER. The budget, as you know, has been reduced from $130 million to $75 million.

Senator MONDALE. What did you get last year, $2 million?

Ms. RIEDER. $2 million, and I am hoping NIE will keep the same figure or increase it.

Senator MONDALE. They are not thinking of cutting the money, are they?

Ms. RIEDER. Well, we have had a substantial cutback, something in the order of 50 percent, and there are many other program areas such as the disadvantaged competing for these funds.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much.

Senator MONDALE. Here we go again. We have gone through this with child abuse. We have gone through it in childcare, in sudden infant death. Are we going to have a situation here where the administration takes the position absolutely no funds are needed? Then we try to pass something, the President vetoes it, and everybody gets bitter. Can we sit down in this new spirit of détente—we get along with the Russians and the Chinese and the Arabs—we ought to be able to sit down and work up a bill here instead of having this ridiculous position where HEW responds administratively to try to head off a bill for whatever reasons you have over there.

We are willing to bend and to compromise if you are, and then we can work out of this thing together. It should help you in your stated objective of trying to achieve justice for women, and it avoids the folly of us just giving into another match here in which no one can win.

Mr. SAUNDERS. I would certainly hope we could avoid that kind of confrontation, Senator. I do think that legislation is premature at this point.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, your position is no legislation, period, and that is your compromise.

Mr. SAUNDERS. No.

Senator MONDALE. Would you accept legislation of any kind?

Mr. SAUNDERS. I think our testimony shows we are moving, we have made commitments to move in this area, and I think before the Congress decides what needs to be legislated, in fairness we need to have a chance to put some of these commitments into effect that we have already made.

Senator Mondale. I am very impressed by the task force. But just as in those other fields we find that the administration acts usually after we have introduced a bill. When it looks as if we are ready to pass a bill, then they try to head us off.

Mr. Saunders. I think in this case our movement has been before the legislation appeared.

Senator Mondale. About a year ago this bill was introduced in the House.

Mr. Saunders. Secretary Richardson started this 2 years ago as far as the department is concerned.

Senator Mondale. The task force, that is right.

Mr. Saunders. We have had a 6-month study. We have had some months to look at the results of that study, and as a result we have made very substantial commitments which are highly significant I think for Division of Education programs.

We cannot claim we have fulfilled those commitments. We are just starting on them, but I think we deserve a chance to see whether we can fulfill those commitments before further requirements are legislated.

Senator Mondale. Certainly some things have happened, but it is going both ways. You have fewer women in higher professional status today than you did when the report came out. A year has gone by, and you still have no regulations issued on Title IX. You just talked about the marvelous progress that is being made in day care—nothing.

This is the kind of fight we are going to get into, who is at fault, the administration or the Congress, and I say everybody loses in that kind of fight.

That is why I asked you whether you felt we could sit down and work out a bill. I gather your answer is "No."

Mr. Saunders. I hate to put it that way, Senator, because I think we are working toward the same objectives.

Senator Mondale. Is your answer "No?" I gather it is.

Mr. Saunders. My answer is that we are trying to do the same kind of things this bill would have us do, and that we believe we can demonstrate that we can do without legislation.

Senator Mondale. If this bill helps to do what you want to do, why do you not support it?

Mr. Saunders. If we can do it without legislation, why do we need it?

Senator Stafford. Mr. Chairman, in the same spirit of the time you have mentioned maybe we could ask the Secretary of State if he could not intervene here? [Laughter.]

Senator Mondale. You know it is interesting. Every time the Defense Secretary comes up here he always wants it right now, and every time we have a representative from HEW, whether it is health or education or housing or discrimination, they never want anything; they always want less than they had last year.

Is there any chance we could get someone over there who is as interested in people as say Schlesinger is in arms?

Mr. Saunders. I think we are very much interested in getting legislation which would simplify the whole approach to Federal education programs so we can meet problems more effectively.

Senator MONDALE. You have given me my answer. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Barbara Greene Kilberg of the National Women's Political Caucus, who is vice president of academic affairs, Mount Vernon College. You may proceed.

## STATEMENT OF BARBARA GREENE KILBERG, VICE CHAIRPERSON OF THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

Ms. KILBERG. Senator, I am Barbara Greene Kilberg, vice president of the National Women's Political Caucus and vice president for academic affairs at Mount Vernon College in the District of Columbia.

I would like to digress just for a minute from my prepared statement to say I also happen to be a member of Secretary Weinberger's Committee on the Rights and Responsibilities for Women, and I think normally I am a very reasonable and cooperative individual, but I left this hearing room when I heard that the advisory committee had been consulted.

The advisory committee has not been consulted.

To the best of my recollection, we have talked with Congresswoman Mink individually and in groups. We did not ever take a vote on it in the committee itself. I do not think we ever felt it necessary to, because I doubt any of us dreamed HEW was against it.

The advisory committee is not against this bill. Although I cannot speak for them, I believe most of the members of the advisory committee would be in favor of it.

There is plenty of work to be done at HEW, and we would love to help any committee that would be dealing with that.

I think it should be noted that while we have had some success at HEW, we have also had a lot of problems, and the task force recommendations to the Office of Education is one of the best reports I have ever seen. It was very well done, and it was done with all good faith and sincerity.

It also should be noted there were a lot of problems getting that report implemented. What we found as members of the advisory committee in dealing with HEW is you really do need as much clout as you can possibly get, and I do not think a categorical program dealing with women's educational equity is out of line.

Each and every time, it has always been a fight to get women considered as a separate entity within a department. The fact is we are a separate entity. As we have seen in relation to other minorities, when there has been discrimination, preferential treatment to remedy the effects of past discrimination is not unconstitutional, it is not bad, and I think it is necessary at this point.

Senator MONDALE. You may have heard Mr. Saunders say that they are making the full effort right now, and no legislation is needed. Would you agree with that?

Ms. KILBERG. No. I think new legislation is needed. I am not questioning anybody's good faith, but I do believe that is a fact.

The Secretary originally promised we would have the regulations in July. That just continuously happened, and I think there is a need for a very special priority for women in HEW.

Senator MONDALE. We have been through this so many times in many other fields. It is the same litany that we heard this morning: We are acting.

Usually, the actions have occurred within the 3 weeks before the hearings were scheduled. If we want to hold monthly hearings, maybe we could get something done. That is why we want legislation.

Ms. KILBERG. As a member of the advisory committee, it is my impression that HEW has tried to make progress continually. However, I think they need help. I would not want to characterize their efforts as those made just before a hearing.

I will go back to my testimony.

I appreciate this opportunity to testify on behalf of the caucus in support of S. 2518, the Women's Educational Equity Act, introduced in the Senate by Senator Mondale. This bill is identical to H.R. 208, which has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congresswoman Mink. We commend and thank Senator Mondale and Congressman Mink for their leadership in directing congressional attention to the pervasive problems caused by discrimination against women in the educational systems of America.

We believe that there is a sexual track system in our schools that directs women from the outset to anticipate second-class status in the economic and sociopolitical mainstreams of our country. The myth of sexual stereotypes is perpetuated in many ways.

It starts in the educational "play programs" of the preschool years. It continues in the most basic primers and texts which reinforce the traditional and female roles along with the three R's, teaching our children, both directly and subtly, that there are personality traits, behavioral patterns, and levels of ambition and ability that are distinctly "male" or "female."

In most school textbooks, be they readers, math books or spellers—and especially those on the elementary level—the female is still displayed as the dependent mother, capable only of solving minor problems and performing menial tasks. Her activities are basically those of combing hair, helping the children make cookies, and searching for the dog.

Any major decision or activity is the sole province of the father who is strong, intelligent, and dependable. He is always greeted with a tremendous outburst of enthusiasm because he is the one who can do the job.

And if the female should be assigned a professional role, you can count on it being a teacher or perhaps a nurse. Only once did I notice in a textbook an aggressive role for a female; that was an elderly grandmother who flew around in a small Cessna airplane.

The clear implication was that she could engage in such activity only because she was a grandmother who happened to have no responsibilities and thus could be irresponsible and eccentric. I would recommend to this subcommittee a study of spelling primers used by 90 percent of the grammar school students in this country.

The study was done by Dr. Lenore Weitzman, who is a sociologist at the University of California at Davis. In addition to the "normal" sex stereotyping, she found a very subtle discriminatory pattern in the use of consonants and vowels. The consonants who were boy figures were continuously pushing, ignoring, or ordering about the vowels who were girl figures.

She showed us a series of slides and pictures of the spelling. It is really funny. They were trying to teach young kids not to conjugate a verb but to take the verb hide, h-i-d-e, and change it to hiding, h-i-d-i-n-g.

They had these boys who were the consonants pushing two girls who were vowels, and they would push them right into one, and then eventually right out of the picture. And I think that psychologically it says something to a second or third grader.

Student counseling all through the school years continues the reinforcement of stereotyping rather than focusing on individual interests and potentials. The role-models that are visible to young people within the structure of the school itself are cues—particularly the overrepresentation of men in key administrative and policy positions within the educational system. Only 1.4 percent of all high school principals and 19.6 percent of the elementary school principals are women.

On the college level, women comprise 20 percent of all acadamic personnel: 43.5 percent of the instructors and only 9.4 percent of the high-level professors. These statistics bear out the fact that the higher one progresses through the academic hierarchy, the more male-oriented and male-dominated becomes the rarefied atmosphere.

The sexual track system has been outlawed by Title IX of the 1972 education amendments. I believe that the research and demonstration funding incentives of S. 2518 will be valuable catalysts in bringing about voluntary compliance in a number of ways. New curricula and other educational tools are needed that explore women's roles in our society and that explore the traditional myths of a "woman's place."

The publishing industry as well as the educational systems need incentives to make badly needed changes in texts and curricula. A more balanced approach to the motivational development and direction of young people is needed. Specialized training of educational personnel should stress the importance of counseling and other forms of teacher-student contact in influencing the life goals and ambitions of youth.

Schools must examine their own role-model potential: what are the opportunities for female participation, advancement, and leadership in the faculty? Colleges, universities, and vocational and technical training institutions must be encouraged to provide incentives, programs, and new approaches that increase female student enrollment, and that provide a broad range of career opportunities for women in all fields, including those areas that have been male-dominated and exclusionary to date.

Particularly important is examination of recruitment and admission practices that discourage women from seeking many kinds of professional training and education. Also important for women are programs and services that permit class attendance during the years of motherhood, such as daycare facilities. The older woman who wishes to resume an education interrupted by child-rearing and family responsibilities should be encouraged to do so. The possibilities are endless.

Senator MONDALE. We have a program at the University of Minnesota which uses their social services money. They are trying to get out a program which offers to welfare mothers a chance to go to college or on to college.

Many of these women have now graduated and gone into professional jobs. It is a marvelous program.

Ms. KILBERG. We at Mount Vernon are a women's college, and we would like to open courses to adult women, and one thing each and every woman has said to us, whether from the ghetto or from the middle or upper classes, is: "I need daycare."

It is especially vitally important in the lower socioeconomic group, and they simply cannot advance without daycare.

In the District of Columbia Mayor Washington is fighting vigorously but daycare is being cut back.

I would like to say a word here about women's colleges. Most women's colleges are small, private, and liberal arts. Our numbers have declined by half in the last decade, from approximately 300 to 145 institutions. Mount Vernon College has made an affirmative commitment, as recently as this past August, to remain a women's institution. We are glad we made that decision and believe it was the right one.

We feel that the education of women is of special importance and that it can be done with distinction in the educational environment of a women's college. But I must also share with you that many of our friends warned us about the potentially serious financial and enrollment consequences of remaining a women's institution. As the latest Carnegie Commission report and numerous other analyses have indicated, private liberal arts colleges are in trouble and whatever difficulties coed colleges are having are doubled for women's colleges.

The Women's Educational Equity Act would help us in curriculum, in career-orientation and training, in enrollment and in the precollege preparation of the students who enroll at Mount Vernon, who would learn from the earliest age those things which would help them develop a sense of self, a sense of pride in the potential and achievements of women—of themselves.

As the drafters of the legislation have wisely acknowledged, educational opportunities exist in many forms of human experience outside of the highly structured academic setting. Too often we forget that our educational institutions are not always the reformers, but often are the perpetuators and trustees of prevailing social values and mores.

It is in a chauvinistic society that the sexual track system exists, not independent of that society. S. 2518 authorizes community-based and community-oriented education and action programs aimed at attitudinal change among those outside of the academic "catchment areas." In the broadest sense, we hope that this means bringing new consciousness into the all-male boardrooms, hiring halls, and legislative cloakrooms, as well as into the women's coffee klatches.

The National Women's Political Caucus exists to increase women's participation in American political life. Nowhere are women more lacking than among the ranks of elected public officials. Women constitute only 6 percent of State legislators. There have been only three women Governors in the history of the country. Women have never constituted more than 3.7 percent of the U.S. Congress, nor more than 4.2 percent of mayors in the largest 1,000 U.S. cities.

Politics is one of those aspects of American life in which sexual stereotyping remains rampant. The cover picture of the October 15 New Yorker magazine illustrates all too well the prevailing role of women in politics: they stuff envelopes for male candidates, and despite much of the work of the Women's National Political Caucus, that is what most of the women are doing.

The National Women's Political Caucus rejects the stereotype. Our country is undergoing a political crisis that has shaken us to our very roots. We cannot afford now, nor could we ever, the costs of ignoring the leadership potential of our women. The need for competent, qualified candidates at all levels of participatory politics is too great.

We believe that the educational objective of S. 2518 can do a great deal to increase public awareness of America's greatest wasted political resource—its women. And we hope that the projects funded under this legislation, if enacted, will be focused on the added richness women can bring to American public life, as well as to the economic and educational mainstreams of our country.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Ms. Kilberg, for a very excellent statement.

I asked HEW whether they thought it made sense to fund what we call a Coleman-type study in sex discrimination to provide a statistical basis for future programing. Would you favor an amendment to this bill requiring NIE to conduct such a study?

If so, what are some of the areas that it should include?

Ms. KILBERG. A study that would look into the practices——

Senator MONDALE. We have had testimony from the National Organization of Women that they thought one of the problems was we needed an in-depth statistical analysis of sex discrimination in education, the whole bit.

Ms. KILBERG. I think you do. I would just have one word of caution, and that is that many of the women's groups we have been meeting with have pointed out that we are shown data from this department, data from the U.S. Census Bureau, from the Labor Department or any other collection in terms of black men and women and white men and women.

We have to have data that tells us for instance what is happening to the black woman versus the white woman. I think a study of that would be desperately needed since the present statistics are compiled on a combination of sex and race.

There are certain problems that a white woman in a middle class society has that are different from a black woman in a middle class or lower class society.

I frankly, anytime I testify or go to make speeches, just have to draw from every little place I can to try to get some data, and this is very fragmentary, and I am not sure how accurate it is. We use it because it is all we have.

Senator MONDALE. Such a statistical effort might do no more than develop the fact that you do not have statistics which might be useful, then when we develop the next census, try to gather data on what is helpful.

Ms. **Kilberg**. I believe that many people would tell you the present census data are terribly inaccurate. Many Puerto Rican women have told me they believe the last census killed off a million Puerto Ricans, and they do not know what happened to them.

I think there are indeed a lot of problems with the census.

Senator **Mondale**. I think the census has been very helpful, one of the most helpful institutions in American life, but it needs to become more sophisticated and needs to change its methods in order to give us the data that we need. We need a lot of lead time.

Ms. **Kilberg**. One point, on the advisory committee I think the experience of most of the women has been fairly good. We have seen cooperation, but I think the point also is if you are going to be an advisory committee, you must actually be asked to advise, and that is very hard when you are dealing with a whole department of programs.

A council of women designed to look at women's education, such as would examine the Women's Equity Education Act, would be very useful because they would have day to day contact and clout with the people in the bureau or the agency that is organizing it. That is much more effective than having an advisory committee which just kind of takes shots at everything that comes up, because it is an almost impossible task.

I personally as a member strongly support this bill.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Margaret Stevenson, Assistant Executive Secretary for Program, National Education Association.

As always, Ms. Stevenson, we are running out of time. Could I ask you to summarize. We will place your statement in the record as though read.

[The statement referred to and subsequently supplied follows:]

### PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. HELEN WISE, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION ON S. 2518, THE WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT OF 1973, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, NOVEMBER 9, 1973

I am Margaret Stevenson, Assistant Executive Secretary for Programs of the National Education Association. I am here today representing NEA President Helen D. Wise.

The National Education Association is pleased to present this statement in support of the principles contained in S. 2518, the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973.

S. 2518 addresses many of the inequities which have been present in the education of women and girls in the United States. It recognizes realistically that sex discrimination has indeed existed but recognizes also that now, in a time of increased awareness of women's capabilities, aspirations, and prerogatives as human beings, at least some of the continuing discrimination can be attributed to simple—and correctable—ignorance rather than to deliberate bad faith.

More important, though, than the acknowledgment of past ills and of current progress is S. 2518's attempt to provide simple, workable procedures to alleviate many of the problems which confront those people, both women and men, who are trying in their own lives and careers to end sex discrimination.

S. 2518 can assist educational institutions in developing programs to eradicate discrimination in school practices and policies and in making all concerned aware of subtle forms of discrimination. It will significantly help those school governng bodies which genuinely desire to provide equality of educational opportunity for women and girls, particularly since it provides some additional financial assistance to develop anti-discrimination programs without cutting into the regular school budget. It will also provide a remedy which concerned individuals or groups can suggest to help eliminate discriminatory practices and policies perpetuated by those school governing bodies which are unwilling to begin developing programs without legal prodding.

Obviously, a first line of attack must be against sex discrimination rooted in and perpetuated by traditional sex stereotyping, the practice of viewing certain roles, activities, and qualities as proper only for boys and men—aggressive, decisive, wage earner—while regarding others as proper only for girls and women—submissive, supportive, homemaker. S. 2518 will encourage and assist schools and teachers in developing programs, practices, and materials to overcome the stereotypes which persist.

A second line of attack might well be against sexism—the unquestioned, unchallenged, unexamined belief that one sex is superior to the other. Sexism has operated effectively to deny more than 51 percent of our population the opportunity to develop to their full potential. This attitude has permeated all institutions of our society. The schools, as the primary socialization tool preparing children for adult roles, have served to reinforce this attitude.

If the schools are to provide for the needs of girls, they must move to open educational opportunities beyond those that have traditionally existed. Growing up equal is not growing up the same way, but rather is growing up with opportunities that permit each person to develop and grow in ways that are consistent with personal and individual values, culture, and potential. Specifically, we are talking about the kind of equity which will, for the first time, permit and encourage women to move into areas which have traditionally been the exclusive domain of men. S. 2518 will help to provide such equity.

The Council on Women's Educational Programs established by S. 2518 will assist in coordinating national efforts to eliminate discrimination and assure consistency of effort on a national basis. Its dissemination of reports on programs developed under the Act can assist others in instituting tested programs and will serve to eliminate duplication of effort.

There is no question that education associations, women's organizations, and individual women will be increasingly pressuring educational institutions for change. Many of these groups are already challenging educational programs. As they become more and more aware of the legal tools to fight discrimination, more and more challenges will result. S. 2518 will do much to eliminate the agony of disputes over whether or not a program can or will be developed under the regular school budget. It will also assist women's groups, education associations, and school administrations to institute programs, and will make available advice on program design and implementation. There is little question that program and policy changes will be instituted, and S. 2518 will be of great value in implementing change with a minimum of antagonism.

An NEA policy, reaffirmed at our annual convention just last summer in Portland, Oregon, calls for a guarantee that women teachers will have equal opportunity for advancement to administrative positions. Clearly this means more than the trite phrase, "equal pay for equal work." Clearly also, such truly equal advancemant opportunities would be in the best interests of not just the individual woman who is promoted, but of the entire education system. It would open up a previously overlooked pool of talent, resources, and commitment. We are pleased to note that S. 2518 would encourage such opportunity for advancement.

Another goal sought by NEA policy is maternity leave taken at the discretion of the women teacher and her doctor and taken without loss of job, tenure, status or pay—in other words, maternity leave that is administratively treated just like some other prolonged disability such as a broken leg. S. 2518 clearly would encourage such leave policies to be incorporated into teacher contracts.

School programs in sports and physical education have long distinguished between boys and girls. Consider what happens to school coaches of such sports as basketball, golf, tennis, and swimming—all sports in which both boys and girls actively participate. The men coaches of the boys' teams generally are paid for their extracurricular duties and/or are relieved of lunchroom or busloading supervision. On the other hand, the women coaches of the girls' teams donate their time for coaching—usually having to fight the administration for money for incidental expenses—and are still required to perform their busloading and lunchroom duties. We feel that S. 2518 would do a great deal to dispel the atmosphere which has historically made this distinction a fact of life, and could result in increased attention being paid—and resources being allocated—to girls' sports.

Women clearly have many legal tools to fight discriminatory programs and policies under the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, and the Executive Orders which require affirmative action programs by government contractors. All of these provide a means of recourse for past discriminatory practices. S. 2518 will, of course, supplement existing legislation and orders. It provides mechanisms and resources designed to solve problems early in the otherwise-lengthy legal processes. Hopefully such mechanisms could lessen the antagonisms which can so often occur when legal actions are long, drawn out, and abrasive.

But S. 2518 has a more positive value—it encourages and funds efforts to end sex stereotyping and discrimination before such situations become entangled in complicated legal proceedings.

We do not view S. 2518 as a panacea. However, we do see it as a good first step which may begin to really equalize opportunities for boys and girls, men and women. We commend its sponsors, and stand ready to do whatever possible to ensure its adoption.

Senator MONDALE. You have heard the testimony which preceded you. Maybe you could just point out the key points as you see them for our purposes here this morning.

## STATEMENT OF MARGARET STEVENSON, ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR PROGRAM, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION; ACCOMPANIED BY MARY CONDON GEREAU, SENIOR LEGISLATIVE CONSULTANT, GOVERNMENT RELATIONS, NEA

Ms. STEVENSON. Thank you, Senator Mondale. I feel that much of our testimony supports the things that have been said. I think I would like to refer to a few particular sections.

We suggest that through this bill, obviously a first line of attack must be against sex discrimination rooted in and perpetuated by traditional sex stereotyping, the practice of viewing certain roles, activities, and qualities as proper only for boys and men—aggressive, decisive, wage earner—while regarding others as proper only for girls and women—submissive, supportive, homemaker. S. 2518 will encourage and assist schools and teachers in developing programs, practices, and materials to overcome the stereotypes which persist.

A second line of attack might well be against sexism—the unquestioned unchallenged, unexamined belief that one sex is superior to the other. Sexism has operated effectively to deny more than 51 percent of our population the opportunity to develop to their full potential. This attitude has permeated all institutions of our society. The schools, as the primary socialization tool preparing children for adult roles, have served to reinforce this attitude.

So we feel that this bill would help us in that area.

We support the Council on Women's Educational Programs which would be established by the bill.

The Council on Women's Educational Programs established by S. 2518 will assist in coordinating national efforts to eliminate discrimination and assure consistency of effort on a national basis. Its dissemination of reports on programs developed under the act can assist others in instituting tested programs and will serve to eliminate duplication of effort.

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S. 2518 will do much to eliminate the agony of disputes over whether or not a program can or will be developed under the regular school budget. It will also assist women's groups, education associations and school administrations to institute programs, and will make available advice on program design and implementation. There is little question that program and policy changes will be instituted, and S. 2518 will be of great value in implementing change with a minimum of antagonism.

An NEA policy, reaffirmed at our annual convention just last summer in Portland, Oreg., calls for a guarantee that women teachers will have equal opportunity for advancement to administrative positions. Clearly this means more than the trite phrase, "equal pay for equal work." Clearly also, such truly equal advancement opportunities would be in the best interest of not just the individual woman who is promoted, but of the entire education system.

It would open up a previously overlooked pool of talent, resources, and commitment. We are pleased to note that S. 2518 would encourage such opportunity for advancement.

Another goal sought by NEA policy is maternity leave taken at the discretion of the woman teacher and her doctor and taken without loss of job, tenure, status or pay—in other words, maternity leave that is administratively treated just like some other prolonged disability such as a broken leg.

I would like to make a particular comment on the sports situation in light of our earlier discussion. We are all aware of the considerable amount of money that goes into boys' sports, but consider what happens to school coaches of such sports as basketball, golf, tennis, and swimming—all sports in which both boys and girls actively participate.

The men coaches of the boys' teams generally are paid for their extracurricular duties and/or are relieved of lunchroom or busloading supervision.

On the other hand, the women coaches of the girls' teams donate their time for coaching—usually having to fight the administration for money for incidental expenses—and are still required to perform their busloading and lunchroom duties.

We feel that S. 2518 would do a great deal to dispel the atmosphere which has historically made this distinction a fact of life, and could result in increased attention being paid—and resources being allocated—to girls' sports.

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Executive orders which require affirmative action programs by Government contractors.

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I think those in a sense are the main points we brought out. We do endorse this bill. We know it is not a panacea. We certainly commend its sponsors and we stand ready to do whatever we can to insure its adoption.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for that excellent statement. Certainly the task force shows eloquently that discrimination exists in public schools against the teachers. Although women are 67 percent of the teachers, they make up only 31 percent of the department heads, 15 percent of the principals and .6 percent of superintendents.

In the field of college libraries, 83 percent of the personnel are female, 70 percent of the chief librarians are men, so that the figure is dramatic and unarguable.

The question is whether we need this legislation or we can rely on assurances that we have heard this morning.

Ms. STEVENSON. Mary is our specialist, Senator.

Ms. GEREAU. Senator, you and I know we cannot rely on them. They do exactly what you said this morning. They get excited about doing something when a lot of pressure is brought by women's groups and others, and if the Congress does not quickly enact this into law some new fancy will come along, and they will drop this and go off in another direction.

It is obvious that they are not putting in anything close to the proper percentage of support. If you read the list of projects that they submitted with their record, it is ridiculous. You have to really reach out to see they are related to sex discrimination.

Senator MONDALE. You know the figure in the task force report was 11.6 percent females in grades 13 and above in the Office of Civil Rights. You heard their answer that they are doing better. You know they are fudging on the figures.

Ms. GEREAU. If they put one more person in, they are doing better.

Senator MONDALE. That is why they did it obviously because there are so few. I understood the comparable figure shows the reduction in percentage of women in GS-13. That is what they have done. I think that speaks more eloquently than this action force that they are going to set up sometime from now.

I am very suspicious because I have been through it, as you have, so many times. You deal with the politics. They try to head off legislation so they can go on and do what they want to do.

Both you and I know they have spent 5 years doing everything they can to cut money off on day care, to eliminate standards so these children are properly cared for where day care is provided, and right now we are in the middle of a bitter fight with this administration to keep money in day care and to keep any kind of standards. Whether it is with title I, you just name it, anything dealing with education shows discrimination.

That is why I was hoping maybe we could just sit down and have some sense of coequality here between the executive branch and the Congress and work out a bill. But as I heard this morning, they do not want anything.

Ms. **Gereau**. Senator, I think you put your finger on it when you said full equality. I detect in this administration in HEW that they can run the country by edict, and they do not need the Congress to help them do it.

We feel, hopefully, this bill will pass and be funded. If it is not funded in the amount that is very reasonably requested in the bill, it still would be funded to some point, but the important thing is that the Congress of the United States would have spoken to this problem.

I do not want just the administration speaking to it. I want the Congress speaking to it. They represent the people in this country, and this is the thing that is important philosophically and psychologically for the people. We have to straighten these men out and let them know that little girls are important, too.

I understood Billie Jean King's point when she said it should not say the Women's Equity Act. I think it has to say that, but this bill is important to boys and men as well as to girls and women. Little boys should be allowed to cry in first grade when they skin their knees. It does damaging things to the child psychologically, and yet they are taught by daddy at home. "Don't be a sissy; you can't cry."

I still remember one of the great pictures I have seen in my life, and I think we all remember the picture of the Frenchmen when the Germans were marching into Paris. American men are taught that they cannot show emotions, and I think this is what brings on a lot of ulcers.

So eliminating sex stereotypes does not just benefit girls; it is going to benefit little boys. It is going to let them be artists with pride and not be called sissies by the rest of the kids. This is a very important point.

Senator **Mondale**. Mary, I understand you are leaving. That is a terrible loss to us. You have been one of the great strengths for all of us in the 9 years I have been in the Senate, and I understand you are going with a union.

I personally owe you an enormous amount of debt and appreciation for not only your contributions in terms of the issues, but more than that the emotion and the strength that you have put behind these fights. We are going to miss you, and we hope that the union will let you continue your efforts.

Ms. **Gereau**. Senator, I am going with the National Treasury Employees Union. They are one of the four groups, a coalition with NEA, and I have an understanding with them that I will continue my interest in Indian education and in women's equity.

Senator **Mondale**. And in anything else.

Ms. **Gereau**. I am not going to forget anything I have learned in 16 years. People say, how can you leave the NEA, a socially conscious issue like education, and go to work for what is basically the Internal Revenue employees? My reply is, if I can help to keep the Internal

Revenue employees happy, then I think I am doing something for the country because the American people will be happy, too.

Senator MONDALE. I think we can say what is good for the Treasury employees is good for the country. Thank you.

Our final witness is Dr. Janet Heddesheimer, assistant professor of education, George Washington University, representing the American Personnel and Guidance Association. We are very pleased to have you here this morning. We are in a serious time bind. We will place your statement in the record as though read, and perhaps you can extemporaneously indicate the points that you think ought to be made.

## STATEMENT OF DR. JANET HEDDESHEIMER, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN PERSONNEL AND GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION

Ms. HEDDESHEIMER. First of all, Senator Mondale, I would like to say how pleased I am to be here today and have an opportunity to testify in support of this bill, the Women's Educational Equity Act.

The American Personnel and Guidance Association has gone on record in support of this bill, in support of the House bill, and will continue our support of this bill.

We are very proud of our record in the area of women's concerns. One of our commitments has been to facilitate the developmental process in girls through the work of our divisions and committees. I have provided the committee with a number of publications we have done through the years, and I hope you will find them of some use.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you. I will be interested in reading them.

Mr. HEDDESHEIMER. Last year we were honored with the presence of Congresswoman Mink at our national convention, and we have invited you to attend, Senator, and we hope you will find time in your busy schedule to come and be with us.

Senator MONDALE. Where is it being held?

Ms. HEDDESHEIMER. In New Orleans, Senator.

We feel that the issue of sex discrimination has been well established through the hearings you have had on this side as well as on the House side, and I do not want to spend a great deal of time going into that today.

Our concern as counselors is directed toward enabling women to take advantage of the options open to them. We believe that even if all discrimination were to end tomorrow, nothing would drastically change. The majority of women are still electing to train in a small number of occupations. A study has indicated that fewer than 5 percent of all professional women fill those positions which to most Americans connote professions: physician, lawyer, judge, engineer, scientist, editor, reporter, college president or professor.

The majority of the others are either noncollege teachers or nurses. In order to place women in male-dominated occupations, there must be a bank of trained females to draw upon. For too many professions that pool is limited or nonexistent.

Women wishing to enter nontraditional positions are severely handicapped by doubts as to whether they could be successful. Some of the problems handicapping women as they strive to move into these occupations are lack of training, resistance from family, conflict of values, geographic immobility, and sex-role stereotyping.

The most disturbing aspect of these handicaps is that many of them are emotional problems of women such as lack of motivation, fear of failure, and limited self-confidence. What is even more disturbing is that this self-defeating behavior is developed in girls at a young age. Our research suggests that by kindergarten girls are accepting for themselves sexually stereotyped occupations with limited vocational aspirations.

I think this has been highlighted repeatedly during the hearings today. I would like to, if I may, read to you a quotation which appears in my prepared statement which I think illustrates very clearly what I am talking about.

It is frequently argued that a 21-year-old woman is perfectly free to choose a career if she cares to do so. No one is standing in her way. But this argument conveniently overlooks the fact that our society has spent 20 long years carefully marking the woman's ballot for her, and so it has nothing to lose in that 21st year by pretending to let her cast it for the alternative of her choice. Society has controlled not her alternatives, but her motivation to choose any but one of those alternatives. The so-called freedom to choose is illusory, and it cannot be invoked to justify the society which controls the motivation to choose.

I think that is one of the themes that I tried to bring out in my testimony.

We feel that in order for educational efforts aimed at widening girls' and women's horizons to be successful, a counseling component is necessary. Counselors can assist in helping women to see their potential and to make full use of their talent. They can also furnish them with information on increasing opportunities that do exist in the work world for women.

In addition to increased and improved counseling services, upgraded counselor education programs are necessary.

So that counselors can work successfully with girls and women over the lifespan, they must first be well informed and reexamine their own biases and concepts of the occupational role of women. Dr. William Bingham, associate professor of educational psychology in the Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University, studied the extent to which counselors are accurately informed about women and work and examined counselors' attitudes toward workingwomen.

The data indicated that some counselors are misinformed and that there are notable sex differences in information. Generally, the counselors in the study expressed more positive than negative attitudes toward women and work. Dr. Bingham said:

> In some respects, their attitudes were less clearly defined than was expected. Such lack of definition may leave some clients, especially girls, with feelings of uncertainty about where they stand with their counselors.

In a recent conversation with Dr. Lynn Hahn, chairwoman of the APGA Commission on Women and chairwoman of the Department of Counselor Education, California State University, Sacramento, Calif., she strongly emphasized this need to expand counselor education programs to include information on counseling girls and women.

University courses and in-service programs for counselors in the field designed to assist counselors in keeping abreast of the rapid changes in the labor market and the increased opportunities for women are essential. Another important element in such training programs are activities that focus on value and attitude change in counselors who have an outmoded view of the role of women in our society.

Unfortunately many of the counselors in the field, men as well as women, are burdened with their own sex role stereotypes and find it very difficult to help girls in breaking down these sex role stereotypes.

We do feel strongly that more programs are needed, in-service training programs for counselors in the field to break down sex role stereotyping, and also to make women aware of the constantly new information that is coming out in terms of the wide range of opportunities that are available for girls and women. It takes active efforts to keep up with this constant influx of new information.

We are very much in support of the bill, as I said. Unlike HEW, we feel it is not a narrow categorical program but a broad-based program which cuts across the educational community.

I would like to say one final thing, that even though we feel strongly that counselor education and in-service programs need to be upgraded, we also feel at the same time that there are a number of ongoing programs which are effectively working, and many of our counselors are extremely effective, and we are proud of their efforts in this area.

Both Dr. McDonough and I would be very pleased to answer any questions you may have today.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you very much for an excellent statement. You represent the guidance counselors in the educational system, and they have come under some pretty heavy attacks from women who say they were directed only into women's occupations and were not encouraged to seriously consider fields such as medicine and law. Do you think these criticisms are justified?

Ms. **Heddesheimer**. As I stated earlier, I think in far too many cases they are justified, but I think the old axiom stands, that frequently the weak programs or the ineffective programs are the ones that receive the publicity, and the counselors who are doing a commendable job are not heard about.

Senator **Mondale**. Are most guidance counselors male or female?

Ms. **Heddesheimer**. I think it depends on the setting.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you have any information on that?

Ms. **Heddesheimer**. I do not have.

Dr. **McDonough**. Senator, we can say this, that in the beginning part of our testimony in terms of our association, we have sex as an optional item, just as race will be.

We have about 9,000 members who are women out of 33,000 membership. As I say, it is an optional item.

I think in terms of the profession, Janet is right, that it probably depends upon the setting. We do have generalized statistics, but we do not have it broken down for the Nation, men and women, in all elementary and secondary settings. I guess the answer to that is, "No."

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you very much. I would like to note that the American Federation of Teachers has submitted a statement to the subcommittee on S. 2518, and to include it in the appendix to the record of this hearing. The subcommittee stands in recess.

[At 12:15 p.m., the subcommittee recessed.]

# APPENDIX

# STATEMENTS

## STATEMENT OF MARJORIE STERN, CHAIRWOMAN, WOMEN'S RIGHTS COMMITTEE

On behalf of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, I wish to thank the Senate Subcommittee on Education for the opportunity of making this statement in support of the WEEA of 1973. My name is Marjorie Stern and I am Chairwoman of the Women's Rights Committee of the teachers' union. As a teacher of social studies, home-making, and parent education, I am particularly aware of the delimiting roles of women, and moreover the structured education of girls and young women in the public educational system.

Our organization, devoted to championing the causes of teacher and student welfare and giving teachers a voice in making educational policy, has long stood for equality in education for all, male or female, regardless of race, creed, color, political pursuasion, or national origin. In the past several years, our union has been active in examining the role of women in society and in school, and we have developed national policy in behalf of raising the status of women, and we have worked to implement it nationally and through local union programs.

For far too long the role of women in American society has been viewed as servile and decorative, while at the same time reality has dictated that from whatever class, they are exploited bodily and psychologically. From the founding of our nation, with its many and diverse cultural strains, women have been placed in the smiling workhorse role of second class citizens. Now in the latter half of the 20th century, with medical science and technology lengthening their lives, shortening their options on childbearing and child rearing, and expanding their employment and educational horizons to meet those enjoyed by men, the United States has the chance to undertake the improvements women need for equal status and opportunity with men.

No one succeeds without some education in this massive, complex society, and women are no exception. No class or group suffers more from lack of education itself, from knowledge of what it means to be really free of stereotyped roles, which are subservient, limited, dependent, and not fully adult. With this country's still great public education system, supplemented by its fine private schools, and with a will to uplift and change women's status in society to meet their potential, the Women's Educational Equity Act can be our nation's commitment to the present and future of over half its citizens.

If we have agonized for the past several years over the personal problems, job inequities, inadequate utilization of intelligence and talent of women, it should be our serious commitment to do something practical and far-reaching about it, and *now*. Passage of this Act would provide not only the funds, and the personnel to carry out this goal, but would gladden the lives of teachers and students who have seen the problems but had no way of implementing change except on a private, personal basis. Now as a matter of public policy funds for change and official commitment could be made available. We wish to support the aims and programs of the WEEA of 1973 which coincide with AFT policy resolutions, many of which we find a perfect match to our beliefs and hopes for programs and action.

Our WR committee, composed nationally of teachers from every region of the U.S. and representing the several levels of education, has for several years struggled with the gargantuan problem of implementing our dream of an ideal education which is not sexist for every student; that is, one sex exploiting the other whether male or female but is humanizing, so that a free and equal society might evolve. Passage of this Act would give both legitimacy and funding to that dream.

Research projects could be carried out which would provide scientific knowledge and theoretical concepts such as those which exist in other social science disciplines. Official governmental, academic and institutional support would greatly enhance the development of legitimate knowledge in the fields of women's studies, so that teachers at all levels of education could draw upon it for classroom implementation.

Teacher-written curricula, lesson plans and units relating to role, history, treatment and societal options of female students and concomitant male role re-examination could be more systematically instituted within existing school systems. Such stimulation for change would meet the need for more material suitable for use in teaching situations, particularly with children. Such materials, directed to the purpose of instilling in young people the idea that women are human beings deserving of the same rights as men, take time and care to develop and these needs should be properly recognized without further overburdening the teacher.

Furthermore, such programs could be established in all affected areas of education, from university to pre-school in the best academic traditions. Providing grants for worthwhile and serious study, bringing a factual and objective cast to what is now voiced or written in piecemeal fashion would develop an acceptable body of knowledge.

Training and re-training of teachers who have unknowingly carried on sex role stereotypes for either male or female in their classrooms, who have reflected in their teaching a male-dominated world, could be carried on systematically. This work now is done only by a few sensitive teachers. The systematic retraining of a sizeable group of influential adults whose main role and occupation is to transmit the culture and values of our society to subsequent generations is probably one of the most important ways to enhance our thinking and behavior about females.

Important, too, is the development of visual teaching materials which direct and inspire individuals to develop to their maximum potential. Valid models are crucial to attaining the goal of developing positive self-images, sorely needed by females in our society. Teaching materials that portray limiting, sex-role stereotypes can result in irreparable psychic damage and distorted aspirational levels for women, and produce sexist caricatures aped and emulated by the media as well as women themselves.

Casting out old and invidious images and creating new and healthier ones in books, films, filmstrips, filmloops, records, encyclopedias, pamphlets, leaflets, and ephemeral materials are goals for which reliable criteria are needed. For instance, neuter nouns should be found for "man", or "men" when referring to humans. Females should be portrayed, not as stereotyped grandmothers, but as individuals who have a wide variety of interests and personalities. Women should also be pictured receiving public recognition and achieving success in many fields of endeavor. Females should be portrayed as being independent, competent, athletic, persistent, and as vital as males. They should be shown in the foreground of activities in much more of the material presented to children. Moreover, females can be presented as taller, heavier, more intelligent or more capable than males just as often as the other way around without denigrating males.

Such training, too, with proper funding and encouragement offered to those besides teachers who are significant in the life of young students, such as parents, community workers and leaders, counsellors, and those influential in work like such as labor, business, and government leaders can reinforce what is objectively and scientifically true about women. Without such community support school learning loses its legitimacy and primacy in the individual's mind.

Adult women, damaged by society's inattention and neglect could benefit by re-counselling and re-training for useful work in an era when a few years out of the labor market and the opportunity for developing to changing conditions might make their former occupations obsolete. Greatly needed are well developed continuing education programs which recognize these economic facts of life and which would rescue from society's wastebasket talents and skills which would otherwise be discarded. Women should not be penalized for their socially assigned role of child rearing. Neither should educational institutions prevent women from studying at what are now unconventional hours of having barriers placed in their way in the form of obsolete courses, untransferrable units, ineqitable residence requirements, inflexible scheduling, lack of child care facilities, or lack of financial aid or scholarships. Development of re-entry and mid-life programs are a paramount need.

Further, sponsorship of training programs for counselling personnel is absolutely essential to promoting positive self-images and expanded career and vocational counselling for all girls and women. Encouragement of entry into apprenticeship and job skill upgrading programs for all women, employed and unemployed, could be stimulated by informing labor and business leaders of their value, and of the relation of education to low pay, poverty, and high unemployment rates. Such programs could end the problem of the female adult dropout from the mainstream of American life which was supposed to be the "happily ever after" of the storybook. The extension of the Greek ideal of a healthy mind in a sound body could be possible in this 20th century American life, and surely by the 21st century no longer a dream but an accepted reality.

---

American Association of University Women,
*Washington, D.C., November 29, 1973.*

Senator Walter F. Mondale,
*Old Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

Dear Senator Mondale: I realize that time is growing late, but the American Association of Univerity Women, an organization of 180,000 members in 1,760 branches, would like to do down on record as being in support of your bill S. 2518 (Women's Educational Equity Bill). The Association considers S. 2518 to be one of its legislative priorities in this AAUW programmatic year of "women, from status to stature."

The AAUW members strongly urge you and your colleagues to pass this significant piece of legislation to remove the unjust discriminatory practices against women in education and to create new educational opportunities for women and for all of society. Moreover, they feel that any group which is viewed as different from *the majority* requires special assistance.

Sincerely,

Helen Timmons,
*Association Legislative Program Committee Chairwoman.*

Enclosure.

STATEMENT OF MRS. HELEN TIMMONS, CHAIRWOMEN, ASSOCIATION LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM COMMITTEE, ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

The primary goal of the American Association of University Women, an organization of approximately 180,000 women organized in 1,776 branches in the 50 States, has been to strengthen educational opportunities at all levels. In the 1890's AAUW supported local day care centers; by the 1930's it was supporting the incorporation of kindergartens in the public school system. In the middle 1940's AAUW was getting involved in early childhood education, public support for public schools and federal aid for school construction.

In the 1950's, AAUW supported the reservation of high frequency channels for educational TV broadcasting and the National Defense Education Act. By the 1960's, the organization backed Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963. The Vocational Education Act of 1963, The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968 and others. Now, the 1970's, AAUW strongly supports Senator Walter F. Mondale's (D-Minn) Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973, which addresses our major concern of equalization of educational opportunity for women.

While there is concern for equal educational opportunity for all Americans, specific legislation such as the Women's Educational Equity Act is needed because of the neglect of women in almost every field of study—history, psychology, sociology, literature, art, and others. Special emphasis therefore is required to fill in major gaps in knowledge and understanding about women in order to meet the educational needs of both men and women in our society.

Faculty, administrators, teachers are faced with limited choices in securing textbooks free from stereotyping male-female roles. Incentive grants for the development of curriculum, text and materials, nondiscriminatory tests and career counseling will help to overcome the reluctance to change. Pictures in texts can show women and men as dentists, doctors, lawyers, and women and men as child care supervisors, secretaries, nurses. Boys are demanding to be enrolled in Home Economics courses and girls are pressing to take courses in Auto Mechanics—but few counselors are recommending this development of the natural interest of kids. Implementation of this bill will provide increased opportunities for both sexes.

AAUW recognizes the need for Resource Centers for Women on campus. Counseling and proper introductions can assist women in enrolling in departments and in courses which have not always welcomed women. Centers for Women which have been functioning for a decade are now supported in university budgets because they offer effective programs. Those centers which are just being constituted may need financial assistance until they prove their value to women and to the university.

Statistics continue to show the small number of women in high level administrative posts. To assist in preparing women faculty members to assume policy making positions in major universities by educating them intensively in the policies and procedures of university goverance, the University of Michigan offers a six weeks Institute on Academic Administration for faculty women with a Ph.D. or professional degree and a tenure ladder position. Qualified men are also considered. This type of administrative seminar needs to be available for the upward bound woman executive in other management fields.

According to Department of Labor Statistics, women are in the work force for at least half of their adult lives, whether they are single or married. Yet the American educational system continues to train women for economic dependency and minimal vocational expectations. An untapped national resource lies in the skills, abilities and special insights of women, particularly at the leadership and administrative level. This bill provides essential tools which will prepare women for the roles they must assume in the next decade.

# REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER'S TASK FORCE ON THE IMPACT OF OFFICE OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS ON WOMEN

## A LOOK AT WOMEN IN EDUCATION:

## ISSUES AND ANSWERS FOR HEW

Report of the Commissioner's Task Force
on the Impact of Office of Education Programs on Women

November 1972

U.S. Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

## Commissioner's Task Force on the Impact of OE Programs on Women

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## PREFACE

How can education--known for decades as a "women's field"--be guilty of discrimination against women? This report, addressed first of all to that paradox, summarizes the evidence that our educational institutions everywhere have been denying females their right to equal opportunities as students and as employees. Second, it explains how HEW education aid has contributed to sex discrimination and recommends action to make Federal education programs part of the solution, not part of the problem.

In the wake of rising public concern about discrimination against women in education, the Commissioner of Education (then Sidney P. Marland, Jr.) established last May a task force to investigate the impact of Office of Education programs on women. Just a few months earlier, the HEW Women's Action Program had called attention to sex bias in several Office of Education programs and recommended changes; Secretary Richardson asked that they be implemented. Meanwhile, by late spring, more important events were at hand as Congress moved toward enactment of sweeping legislation banning all Federal education aid to any institution or individuals practicing sex discrimination.

Believing that these events had profound implications for all Office of Education programs and deserved a studied, comprehensive agency response, Commissioner Marland asked his 12-member task force to report back with findings and advise on the agency's response. This is that report.

Besides the Office of Education, the task force also looked at the activities of two other HEW units: the new National Institute of Education, whose research and development functions were still part of OE when the task force began its work, and the Office for Civil Rights, whose enforcement efforts will certainly affect the speed with which the education community meets women's demands for equality.

The information presented here was gleaned both from the general literature on sex bias in education and from agency program staff. To find out about the relationship between specific programs and sex discrimination, we worked from questionnaires tailored to individual programs--sometimes by gathering responses in writing, more often by personally interviewing program administrators and staff. Questions were far-ranging: they covered program participation by sex, the role of women in administering projects in the field, past efforts to reduce sex discrimination in agency programs and special projects aimed at expanding opportunities for women.

Information on many programs was sketchy or nonexistent, either because very little information of any kind is gathered at the Federal level (as in many formula grant programs) or because programs have not yet recognized the need to collect data comparing the participation of males and females. The task force study, then, has only scratched the surface, and we hope that it will prompt program officials to look much more closely at the relationship between their own programs and sex discrimination.

The 12 task force members represented various shades of opinion about the role of women in American society; the viewpoints and recommendations presented here reflect a consensus rather than complete unanimity. Despite differing viewpoints, we did agree on several fundamental premises which underlie the report:

-- that every person has a basic human and constitutional right to equal opportunity;

-- that the education system must strive to enable each individual to explore his or her unique potential to the fullest; and

-- that both males and females are now prevented from doing that by society's insistence on traditional definitions of the proper roles of men and women.

With women's rights, as with other areas of civil rights, the issue is basically a human one: how do we see that all Americans--males and females, rich and poor, black, brown and white--can take their places as human beings with the same human and civil rights?

For it is clear that discrimination against women is part of a much broader problem of exploitation and exclusion in American society. Women share the experience of second-class citizenship with ethnic minorities, the handicapped and the poor. While the task force was not able to analyze the educational needs of these groups, we do believe that many of our recommendations also apply to them. We urge that agency officials consider this as they act on task force recommendations.

We have presented our report in two parts. The first, a summary of the problems women face throughout American education, reflects the task force's concern that sexism in education is still a little understood phenomenon. We hope that the report will help to inform people, both inside HEW and out, about the seriousness and magnitude of the inequalities women confront within the education system. The second part examines the relationship of HEW education programs to the problem and presents an agenda for action.

Women seeking equal opportunities in education have just begun to win public recognition for their grievances. In this media-oriented society, gaining public attention is genuine progress. The question now for Federal education officials, as for educators throughout the nation, is whether we will now move beyond that symbolic victory to substantive change. That is the challenge.

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# PART I

# SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION: AN OVERVIEW

Part I describes the many ways in which sex discrimination in the educational system works against women, both as students and as workers.

# SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION: AN OVERVIEW

As the decade advances, equality for women is emerging as one of education's thorniest and most urgent issues. And little wonder.

At a time when women are demanding equality as both a human and a constitutional right, our schools are still imparting concepts of male superiority. Although women are close to half the working population, education is still primarily preparing them to be housewives. As an employer, the education system is equally guilty. Women working in education can generally expect lower pay, less responsibility and far less chance for advancement than men working at the same level.

The situation is not without its bright spots. But mounting evidence makes it clear that unequal treatment of the sexes is the rule in education, not the exception. As a girl progresses through the education system, she confronts serious biases and restrictions at each level, simply because she is female.

## EARLY EDUCATION REINFORCES IDEAS OF MALE SUPERIORITY

From the time they first start school, children learn from teachers, textbooks, games and films that males are superior to females.

Elementary school textbooks reveal startling biases. Females are continually underplayed as topics of interest. An extensive study covering 144 readers from 15 reading series, varying from primer to 6th grade level, disclosed that while boys were the focus of 881 "amusing and exciting" stories, only 344 of these stories centered around girls. Similarly, there were 282 stories featuring adult males, but only 127 stories about women. In addition, there were 131 biographies of famous men, but only 23 of famous women.[1]

Derogatory comments aimed at girls in general were common in all these readers. One reader depicts a girl getting lost in London with the caption, "Girls are always late." Another primer denigrates girls with a "Look at her, Mother, just look at her. She is just like a girl. She gives up." and again with "You cannot write and spell well enough to write a book. You are just two little girls."

Other sex stereotypes are commonly threaded through grade school curriculum materials. Girls emerge as passive, dependent, and incompetent, while boys are active, self-reliant, and successful. Mothers mostly appear as housecleaners, clothesmenders, grocery shoppers and cake bakers; fathers are wage earners.

The negative influence that biased curriculum materials exert on children is reinforced by differences in the way teachers and administrators treat boys and girls. Teachers communicate their expectations of "feminine" and "masculine" behavior in subtle ways: girls are asked to do light classroom chores (watering the flowers or decorating the Valentine box), boys are assigned to the heavier and more responsible tasks (moving chairs or hall patrol). Physically active girls are labeled "tomboys"; boys who cry are "sissies."

Then too, the traditional classroom set-up, with children sitting quietly row by row, is difficult for most children, but especially hard for boys who have been encouraged from birth to be physically active. Teachers tend to reward passivity and obedience, qualities many girls have already acquired.

This dichotomy in roles is undoubtedly reinforced when children look at adult roles in their own schools, where they are likely to see that women teach and men run things: an early and potentially damaging lesson in "career education." For while 85 percent of all public school elementary teachers are women, 79 percent of the elementary school principals are men.[3]

By the time children are ready to leave grade school, they have already begun to develop distinct impressions of the limitations placed on them because of their sex.

## SEX DISCRIMINATION IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Once children reach secondary school, they are likely to confront even more rigid sex stereotyping. Both girls and boys may be prevented from taking advantage of certain educational activities, although restrictions facing girls are far more serious than those boys usually face.

### Sex-biased Curriculum Materials

Sex biases in the curriculum are a problem at this level too, though the focus has shifted: women are ignored more often than maligned. In history and social studies texts, for example, women--their achievements and their concerns--are virtually invisible. The history of women's exploitation and their struggle for equality is dealt with superficially, if mentioned at all.

### Stereotyping Interests and Abilities

Early on, girls and boys discover they are expected to develop different "aptitudes"--boys in math and science, girls in English and the arts. Teachers, principals, and parents may encourage boys to pursue these "masculine" fields, but admonish girls to stick to the "feminine" fields. There is no question that these sex stereotypes have an effect. The National Assessment Study discovered, for instance, that while there was little difference between boys and girls in science writing at age 9, the gap widened increasingly at ages 13, 17, and young adulthood.[4]

### Sex-Segregated Courses

Children who do display unconventional interests may be blocked from pursuing them because appropriate courses are restricted to the other sex. Home economics and industrial arts classes are frequently segregated by sex, making it difficult for both sexes to acquire basic home management skills. Men don't learn to cook or mend; women can't put up a shelf or fix an electrical outlet. Young people are becoming interested in what the other half is learning: in an informal survey taken in Boston recently, girls in traditionally female vocational education said they would rather take industrial arts than home economics, if they had the chance. Students of both sexes have begun to demand that these courses be coeducational. A few pioneering school districts have combined home economics and industrial arts into courses covering a range of "survival" skills, others have devised "bachelor cooking" courses, while others have simply opened up the old courses to both sexes.

## Segregated Academic and Vocational Schools: Separate But Not Equal

Opportunities for girls are further limited by restricted admissions in schools. Academic and vocational high schools in large school districts sometimes exclude one sex entirely or require higher admissions standards for girls than for boys. Simply because of their sex, students may find themselves ineligible for the school offering the best or only courses in their field of interest.

Until recently, New York City excluded girls from two of the city's high quality public academic high schools specializing in science, mathematics and technology. Two years after a court order opened the first school, the Board of Education was still listing these schools for "boys only" in its official catalogue.[5]

Vocational high schools in big cities are also frequently sex segregated. A 1971 telephone survey by OE's Office of Legislation found, for example, that the District of Columbia had four (two for men, two for women); Baltimore, four (also two for each); and New York City, 18 (13 for males, five for females).

Separate does not mean equal. Boys' vocational high schools tend to offer training for more diverse and better paying jobs. The segregated schools in New York City prevent girls from taking courses in 17 different vocational fields: architectural drafting, dental labs processing, jewelry making, industrial chemistry and upholstery as well as areas in heavy industry. Boys are excluded from two.[6]

A comparison of Boston's two trade high schools, one for each sex, is particularly revealing.

Boys at Boston Trade High choose from courses in automobile mechanics, basic electronics, cabinetmaking, carpentry, drafting, electrical technology, machine shop, painting, plumbing, printing, sheet metal and welding. At Trade High School for Girls, on the other hand, students are only offered programs in clothing, foods, beauty culture, and commercial art. The average expected wage for trades taught at Trade High School for Girls is 47 percent less than that for the trades available at Boston Trade High School for Boys.[7]

In addition, nonvocational course offerings at these schools are determined by sex. At Trade High School for Girls, students take typing and merchandising, while boys at Boston Trade learn geometry, trignometry and physics. Girls can study biology but not chemistry. Interestingly, the Boston school system makes exceptions for boys who want to be admitted to the girls' trade school (seven were enrolled in 1970), but no exceptions have ever been made for girls who sought admission to the trade school for boys.[8]

## Limitations in Vocational Education

Justifications for this kind of rank discrimination range from the well meaning--"She won't be able to get a job"--to the absurd--"We can't let girls do metal work because they have to wear masks and work with sparks."[9] Whatever the excuse, schools must stop denying students free choice in vocational training.

The fact is that some women want training in vocations now dominated by men, and vice versa. Women have succeeded, despite tremendous resistance, in all of these fields; during World War II the popular "Rosie the Riveter" served as evidence that women were effectively replacing men in many industry jobs. Sex discrimination in employment has been illegal since 1964; now it is illegal in vocational schools, too.

Equality in job training is not a minor concern for women. Despite the persistent myth that "woman's place is in the home," women are now a permanent and growing sector of the work force. Within the past thirty years, the number of women in the work force has more than doubled, so that today two out of every five workers are women.[10] Nearly two thirds of the new jobs created during the 1960's were held by women.[11]

Nor are women only temporarily employed or merely working for "pin money." Seventy percent of all women employed are working full-time, and the average woman worker has a full-time worklife expectancy of 25 years.[12] Nearly half the women employed in 1971 were working because of pressing economic need.[13]

So long as the schools continue to steer girls into vocational training for low-paying jobs, they will continue to contribute to the earnings gap between working women and working men. That gap is substantial and growing worse. In 1955, a woman working full-time earned only 64 percent of a man's earnings, but by 1970, she was only earning 59 percent as much.[14]

## Athletics

Schools sponsor physical education and extramural sports because educators recognize the importance of life-long habits of physical fitness. These habits are needed as much by women, as workers and mothers, as by men. However, girls get short shrift in physical education, both at the secondary and higher education level. Schools and colleges devote greater resources to boys' than to girls' athletics: in facilities, coaches, equipment and interscholastic competition. In one midwestern district, school officials spent ten times as much on boys' athletics as on girls'; and there is no reason to believe that this school district was unusual.[15] Girls are often either excluded from interscholastic competition or required to play under restrictive rules specially designed for girls' games. In one case, State rules for high school athletics forced a high school to deny its best tennis player both coaching and the chance to compete. Why? The athlete was female.[16]

## Expelling Pregnant Students

Discrimination is particularly severe for one group of students--those who become pregnant. Every year over 200,000 young women under 18 give birth.[17] Usually these young women are expelled from school at the first sign of pregnancy. Out of 17,000 school districts surveyed in 1970, fewer than one third offered pregnant school-age girls any education at all.[18] School districts that did allow students to study during pregnancy usually kept them at home or segregated them in special classes for various reasons--on moral grounds, for special protection or for convenience.[19]

None of these reasons justify denying a young woman the right to regular public education with her peers. There is no evidence that pregnant students are morally contagious. Class attendance poses no greater health hazard to pregnant women than performing a job, doing housework or caring for other children--all things that women commonly do up until childbirth.

Expulsion compounds the already serious problems of teenage pregnancy. Of every 100 pregnant teenagers who leave school, 85 never come back. Rejected, cast out with a child to support and often no salable skills, these teenagers are nine times more likely to commit suicide than their peers.[20]

Eighty-five percent will keep their babies, either to raise an illegitimate child alone or to enter into a early marriage that is three or four times more likely to end in divorce than marriages in any other age groups.[21] Their children are four times more likely to have psychological problem than those with older parents. Among the teenage mothers who remain unmarried, 85 percent go on welfare.[22]

## Guidance and Counseling

As a girl prepares to leave secondary school to take a job or to seek further education, school guidance counseling may further dissuade her from striking off in academic or vocational directions which may be her choice but which are usually reserved for men.

Many guidance counselors advise students to do what's "practical." Unfortunately, what is considered practical may lead to a tragic under-utilization of women's talents and skills. Counselors may advise girls to go into conventional "women's fields," regardless of their interests or abilities. But, as we have stated above, many girls are interested in other fields.

Sex discrimination in another form of guidance--vocational interest tests--has begun to attract public attention. One test, the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, received widespread attention when cited for sex bias in March 1972 by the American Personnel and Guidance Association. As the association's resolution calling for the test revision explained:

> The Blanks (SVIB) provide different occupational scores for men and women: women cannot be scored on occupations like certified public accountant, purchasing agent, and public administrator; men cannot be scored on occupations such as medical technologist, recreation leader and physical education teacher.
>
> When the same person takes both tests, the profiles turn out differently: one woman scored high as a dental assistant, physical therapist, and occupational therapist on the woman's profile, and as a physician, psychiatrist, and psychologist on the man's form.[23]

## BIASES IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

Although more and more women are demanding and gaining access to postsecondary education, the record is not one of consistent progress. The proportion of women undergraduates and professional students grew from 30 percent in 1950 to 41 percent in 1970, but was still smaller than it was in 1930. And women won a higher proportion of the doctorate degrees during the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's than they did in the 1960's.[24]

According to one study, only half of the female high school graduates qualified for college work actually do go on to college, while 65 percent of the qualified men do.[25] The proportions of women shrink on each step of the educational ladder. Women earn just over half the high school diplomas; but they earn 43 percent of the bachelor's degrees, 40 percent of the master's degrees, and only 13 percent of the doctorates.[26]

Women also have a more difficult time gaining access to top quality education. In the 35 undergraduate institutions, both single sex and coeducational, judged the "most selective in the country" by one college handbook, women represented only 29.3 percent of the admissions in 1970. They were only 32 percent of those admitted to the coeducational institutions.[27]

Yet women perform as well or better than their male peers in both the secondary and the undergraduate years. Sex discrimination--in admissions, student aid awards and counseling--contribute to these disparities.

## Admissions

Sex discrimination in admissions--commonplace in public and private institutions, single sex and coeducational--is one obstacle facing women seeking higher education.

Most of the approximately 300 institutions which exclude members of one sex are private, although a few public institutions close their doors to women. Of these, the U.S. Military academies are the most prominent. Because of the single-sex pattern of higher education in Virginia in 1964, the State system that year rejected 21,000 women and not a single male. Since then, the State has changed its policies.[28] Sex discrimination in admissions to public institutions is particularly burdensome, since public education is in general, substantially less expensive than private education.

Most students attend coeducational institutions of higher education, and it is in admissions to these schools that discrimination against women is so damaging. Coeducational institutions, both public and private, use various strategies to limit the number of women admitted. Some use quota systems to maintain a steady ratio of male and female students, almost always with women in the minority Cornell University, for example, maintains a male/female ratio of 3:1; Harvard/Radcliffe, 4:1.[29] The main campus at Pennsylvania State University, a public institution, this year ended a long-standing quota of 2.5 men to every woman.[30]

Other institutions simply demand higher admission standards for women than for men. Whatever the system, women usually come out on the short end. As a faculty member at one graduate school commented: "Our general admissions policy has been, if the body is warm and male, take it; if it's female, make sure it's an A- from Bryn Mawr."[31]

## Student Aid

Sex discrimination in student aid awards is another roadblock for women seeking higher education. The Educational Testing Service (ETS) recently documented a clear pattern of sex discrimination in student aid. ETS found that women averaged $215 less in student financial aid than men, though women had equal financial need. To compound the problem, men working to defray college costs earned more than female students. This was not only true in off-campus jobs: the biggest disparities were in jobs provided by colleges and universities, where men averaged $300 per year, or 78 percent, more than women.[32]

Women are effectively excluded from certain kinds of scholarship aid. Government scholarships designed to attract men into military service, such as ROTC scholarships, have not been available to women, nor can most women qualify for veterans' benefits. Athletic scholarships, a significant portion of financial aid in some institutions, are limited to men. And many private scholarships and fellowships are designated for men only. Until 1969 New York University Law School, for example, excluded women from competition for Root-Tilden scholarships, generous $10,000 scholarships for "future public leaders," a category which apparently was felt to be suitable only for men.[33]

According to ETS, the only type of student aid where women averaged larger sums than men was in loans--probably because they receive less aid from other sources and must rely on larger loans.[34] Loans are an expensive way of financing an education for anyone, but they represent a particularly heavy burden for women, since women have less earning power than men.

Women who are married or raising children may have particular difficulty securing the aid they need to remain in or return to school. Financial aid officers may feel that these women do not need help, since they have husbands to support them, or that they are probably not serious about obtaining an education. In addition, financial aid is difficult to obtain for part-time study, which poses an additional handicap for women with children who can only attend school part-time.

## Counseling

Counseling for women in higher education holds the same hazards it does for younger women in secondary schools. Advisors often urge women to avoid "masculine" academic fields or discourage them from applying to graduate schools where common wisdom has it that it's hard for women to get in. Women are often warned against seeking further education, despite good academic records:

- "Have you ever thought about journalism? (to a student planning to get a PhD in political science). I know a lot of women journalists who do very well."

- "A pretty girl like you will certainly get married. Why don't you stop with an M.A.?"[35]

Biases against women in each of these areas--admissions, student aid and counseling--are typically rationalized by widely-held prejudices and presumptions about women and their needs. It is assumed that some man will always provide for a woman, that women won't complete their education, or that women don't really need an education. As a young widow with a five-year old child who needed a fellowship to continue her studies was told, "You're very attractive. You'll get married again. We have to give fellowships to people who really need them."[36]

In fact, none of these assumptions hold up. Millions of women will remain single, be divorced or widowed, or marry a low wage-earner.[37] According to the data available, women are slightly more likely to complete high school and slightly less likely to complete postsecondary degree programs than men in the same field. The more education a woman has, the more likely she is to hold a job. A study of female Ph.D's seven years after receiving their degrees found 91 percent working--81 percent full-time.[38] Moreover, it is shortsighted to suggest that a man needs a college education if he works for pay, while a woman doesn't if she works at raising children.

Undoubtedly, many of the myths persist because many people are simply unable to accept women as equals to men. The attitude is perhaps best expressed in a comment of Nathan Pusey while president of Harvard. Upon learning of the end to graduate student deferments during the Vietnam war, Pusey said, "We shall be left with the blind, the lame, and the women."[39]

## WOMEN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS ENCOUNTER ADDITIONAL DIFFICULTIES

Because of their special life patterns, many women with family responsibilities experience special difficulties in acquiring an education. For mothers who wish to continue their studies while their children are young, finding adequate, affordable child care is a major problem. Others who interrupt their education to raise children or pay for a husband's education find returning to education limited by such problems as a dearth of part-time study opportunities and by credit transfer problems.

These problems are shared by women at all levels of the socio-economic scale whether they are looking for basic literacy education, occupational training or retraining, or a high school, undergraduate or graduate degree. Women with families need special services and flexible arrangements few education institutions have been willing to offer.

## Child Care Needs

Students' child care needs have not been adequately met. Day care is not readily available for many people and costs are still prohibitive. While low-cost cooperative day care centers are growing in popularity, adequate child care can be expensive. A recent study of "quality" child care centers estimated average costs at $2,600 per child per year.[40]

A woman with children who is not working must add child care costs to her educational expenses, since she would no longer be at home providing these services free of charge. Without help in shouldering child care costs, large numbers of women must stay home or despite a desire to continue their education.

In postsecondary education, demands for child care assistance have exploded within the last three or four years. Child care centers subsidized partially at university expense have begun to appear on campuses. Centers often double as research laboratories for campus scholars and students. However, efforts to date are still grossly insufficient. The American Association of University Women reports that no more than 5 percent of our colleges and universities offer day care services.[41] Some are open only to faculty children; many impose extremely selective admissions criteria to deal with the surplus of applications. Waiting lists are long.[42]

The child care issue has not won much visibility in secondary and vocational schools, perhaps because these schools have traditionally refused responsibility for educating young women with children. With growing recognition that pregnancy and motherhood are not acceptable grounds for denying young people the right to public education, school systems will have to confront the child care issue. Child care services may be essential for keeping young mothers in school.

National statistics on the number of mothers seeking child care assistance in order to attend school are nonexistent. However, we do know that in 1971 over two million college students, 25 percent of the total national enrollment, were married.[43] And over 200,000 women under 18 have children each year.

Child care services have barely begun to meet the demands, either for women already struggling to balance studies and child care responsibilities, or for women who might return to education or training if they had access to acceptable child care.

## Part-Time Study Needs

Although not as limiting as lack of access to child care facilities, other hurdles stand in front of the women who wish to return to school, including a dearth of part-time study opportunities. For many women, part-time study is often the only way to combine childrearing with learning. More and more people of both sexes, unable or unwilling to devote full time to education, are demanding access to postsecondary education.

Although no national data are available, part-time study opportunities clearly do not come close to meeting this demand. Part-time vocational or manpower training is extremely rare. Traditional continuing education courses offered part-time usually cannot be credited toward a degree, and many undergraduate schools still close their doors to all part-time students.

## Academic Credit Problems

Because families often go where the husbands' opportunities take them, credit transfer problems in higher education are particularly acute among married women. Many institutions refuse to accept transfer credits from other institutions. Even if they accept academic credits already earned, no credit is normally given for the years of experience and learning these women have had outside the classroom.

## The Age Handicap

Some institutions discriminate, either openly or covertly, against applicants over a certain age. This policy falls harshly on women hoping to continue their education after raising their children.

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Both women and men can benefit from adjustments in conventional institutional practices. The failure of education institutions to respond to the needs of women and men returning to [illegible] education is an unjust and inexcusable waste of valuable human resources. Not only are these individuals denied fulfillment of their potential, but the institutions themselves suffer by not using the wealth of experience these people have already acquired.

## THE EDUCATION SYSTEM AS AN EMPLOYER

Women employed in the education system face discrimination practices just as damaging as those women experience as students.

Education, tradition has it, is a woman's field. Women make up the bulk of the Nation's teaching staff in the elementary and secondary schools; yet they remain a largely untapped and underutilized source of educational leadership. Women are denied equal pay and equal opportunity for advancement and they are channeled into a small number of "approved" educational fields. Wherever you look in education, women abound in the lower ranks and there, generally, they stay.

Women returning to careers in education face many of the same obstacles women returning as students encounter. Pregnant teachers frequently receive the same summary treatment as pregnant students--policies require them to leave the jobs while pregnant, often with no guarantee of a place when they return. Day care services or subsidies are rarely available to employees in education and part-time employment opportunities are scarce.

### Women in Administrative Positions

Elementary and secondary schools are mainly staffed by women, but when teachers are selected to move into the administrative ranks, men are usually chosen. In school year 1970-71, 67 percent of all public school teachers were women, but women constituted:

- 31 percent of the department heads,
- 15 percent of the principals, and
- 0.6 percent of the superintendents.[44]

Presently, only two Chief State School Officers are women--those in Montana and Guam. When women do get into administrative positions, it is usually at the elementary school level where responsibility, pay, and status are lower. While 20 percent of the elementary school principals in 1970-71 were female, women were only 3.5 percent of the junior high school principals and 3 percent of the high school principals.[45]

In postsecondary education administration, women are even less visible, but the same pattern holds. Men dominate college and university administration, particularly at the policy-making levels. The National Education Association's 1971-72 survey of higher education institutions found that of 953 presidencies in 4-year institutions, women held only 32; the proportion is about the same in 2-year colleges.[46] Even some of the women's colleges, which historically guaranteed women opportunities for administrative leadership, have been hiring male presidents in recent years.

Female trustees are rare. A 1970 American Association of University Women survey found that 21 percent of the institutions responding to the survey had not a single female trustee and another 25 percent had only one.[47] The only deanship women were likely to hold was dean of women; only 21 percent of the deans of administration, faculty or instruction were women.[48] Perhaps the most startling statistic was the sex breakdown of head librarians in 4-year higher education institutions--in a field 83 percent female, nearly 70 percent of the head librarians were men.

A long tradition of excluding women from top administrative positions in education may discourage some women from aspiring to administrative positions. However, the fact remains that administration is "the way up" in American public education in terms of salary, responsibility and status. It is absurd to conclude that many women year after year voluntarily turn their backs on these hallmarks of advancement.

## Discrimination Against Women in Higher Education Faculties

Colleges and universities present an array of obstacles to women who want to teach at that level. Less than one in five faculty members is a woman. A recent study of the University of California at Berkeley pointed out that 23 percent of the university's doctorates in psychology went to women, but the last time a woman had been hired in the psychology department was in 1924.[50] Discrimination in hiring at large and prestigious institutions has forced many women to take jobs in small institutions with lower pay and status and less opportunity for research.

Once women join the faculty, discrimination makes it much harder for them to move up through the ranks than for men. Almost 40 percent of the full-time instructors at 4-year institutions are women, but the proportion of women drops with each rise in rank. Women comprise:

- 21 percent of the assistant professors,
- 15 percent of the associate professors, and
- 9 percent of the full professors.[51]

Women are likely to remain on each step of the academic ladder long after their male colleagues with the same qualifications have moved on. While it has been reported that females with doctorates "have somewhat greater academic ability than their male counterparts,"[52] barely half of all women with doctorates and 20 years of academic experience are full professors, but 90 percent of the men with the same qualifications have reached that rank.[53]

Taking into account all the possible factors influencing faculty rank, Astin and Bayer concluded in a recent analysis that sex discrimination is an important factor in determining faculty rank--more important than such factors as the number of years employed at the institution, the number of books published and the number of years since completion of education.[54]

In addition, it appears that the more prestigious the institution the less likely women are to penetrate the upper ranks. At Harvard University, to pick an obvious example, of 411 tenured professors in the Graduate School of Arts and Science in 1970-71, 409 were men.[55]

## Salary Discrimination in Education

Institutions of higher education regularly pay women less than men of equal rank. In terms of median salaries by rank, women instructors earn $510 per year less than male instructors, and women full-time professors earn $1,762 per year less than their male counterparts.[56] And as time goes on, the gap is widening.

Astin and Bayer found that sex was a better independent predictor of salary than such factors as years of professional employment and type of advanced degree. The authors reported that by 1968-69 standards, female faculty members should receive an average of $1,000 a year more just to equalize their salaries with those of their male colleagues of equal rank and experience.[57] This is an extremely conservative estimate, since it does not take into account financial inequities attributable to other kinds of discrimination: in promotions, opportunities for research, hiring by high-paying institutions and other factors.

At present no data are collected on teacher salaries in elementary and secondary schools. However, in some States, elementary and secondary schools are prohibited by statute from paying women less than men of equal rank. In vocational education the median salary in 1969 for female teachers for all levels combined was $1,158 less than for men; women earned only 87 percent as much as their male counterparts.[58]

## Sex Typing By Field

Within the education professions, positions are highly sex-typed. Women tend to be clustered in certain fields; men, in others. Women overwhelmingly dominate early childhood education, elementary education, and special education. They are 92 percent of the school librarians. In vocational education, most of the teachers in the health occupations, home economics, and office occupations are women. At the lowest end of the professional scale, almost all teacher aides and other educational paraprofessionals are female.

Men, on the other hand, have always dominated teaching positions in mathematics, the sciences, law, medicine and engineering. In vocational education teaching in agriculture, distributive education, technical education and trades and industry has been predominantly male.

In recent years, educators have begun to wage an energetic campaign to attract men into the fields of education customarily dominated by women. In some of these fields, the proportion of men has increased, stimulated perhaps by tight job markets elsewhere. If the same energy were devoted to bringing women into male-dominated fields, a few years could bring substantial changes.

### Nonprofessionals in Education

Women employed as nonprofessionals experience similar discrimination in hiring, advancement and pay. HEW's Office for Civil Rights has turned up numerous cases of sex discrimination against nonprofessional employees. In one institution, custodial employees were divided by sex into "maids" and "janitors." Each had the same duties, but maids were paid substantially less. In another, 4 pay levels were created for the job of clerk; white males received the highest pay, black males next highest, white females came after that, and black females were last. All of them had to have the same qualifications and perform the same work.

Career ladders for nonprofessionals and paraprofessionals are practically nonexistent. Despite growing popularity of teacher aides, few school systems offer these people, almost always women, the chance for training and advancement to professional responsibility and status. Like most employers, few education institutions have begun to face up to the need for career ladders to enable nonprofessional office workers to move into the professional office jobs.

## RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT: HELP OR HINDRANCE?

Research and development can offer valuable insights and useful tools for tackling our most perplexing problems. Despite their potential, research and development to date have contributed little to our ability to solve one of education's most serious inequities: systematic discrimination against the female sex. In general, research and development people have shown only slight interest in exploring sex biases or testing ways of overcoming them. Moreover, studies too often reflect the anti-female biases of researchers.

## Exploring Sexism through Research and Development

It is encouraging to note that there are increasing signs of interest in research relating to sex biases, particularly among female scholars. However, remarkably little scholarly work has been done on sex discrimination itself--either on the precise nature and extent of sex bias within the education system, its roots or its effects. An ERIC search for research materials on sex discrimination produced only 12 items, none containing any empirical results.[59] Too much of our information on sex discrimination is piecemeal, anecdotal or out of date.

Researchers have produced some information on sex differences and sex role development. They often report findings on differences and similarities between males and females--in play behavior, learning styles, interactions with teachers and in other situations. Where differences exist, causes are rarely explored. We still lack empirical evidence on the extent to which these differences are biologically or culturally determined.

Research on the way children develop concepts of appropriate sex role behavior has had similar limitations. There is (as we noted earlier) evidence that as children go through school, they progressively acquire clearer and more rigid ideas about what is expected of males and females. But we do not know to what extent schooling may be responsible or which aspects of the educational experience have the strongest influence on children's concepts of appropriate sex roles.

Much of the research on sex role stereotypes has another weakness: many studies reflect the researcher's assumption that accepting traditional masculine/feminine role differences is essential to a child's healthy development. In fact, learning all the "cannots" and "must nots" traditionally associated with being female in this society can be a crippling experience. Although there have been a few extremely provocative studies on this problem, many of the studies of sex role development appear to be motivated by a desire to see that boys and girls develop "proper" sex role concepts. For instance, researchers studying the effects of female teachers on boys frequently express a concern that boys may fail to develop "appropriate" sex role identification without male teachers as models.[60]

Unless the necessary research is put to use, it will provide little help to children in classrooms. It must be accompanied by the products of development--for instance, new curricula, teaching approaches, whole new forms and models that can be put to use in real educational settings. As matters stand, curriculum materials and teacher training techniques aimed at helping teachers avoid sexist behavior are virtually nonexistent. A few recent education experiments do have particular significance for women, e.g., a home-community based career education model and nonresident college degree programs with credit for nonacademic experience. However, serious attempts to tackle some of the most basic problems, such as techniques to counter sex role stereotyping in the early preschool and school years, are lacking.

## Biased Questionnaires

In addition to the dearth of helpful research and development relating to sex stereotypes and biases, many studies contain sex biases which distort findings and produce knowledge of little or no use in solving problems of discriminating against women. Even worse, these studies may reinforce popular misconceptions about women and encourage educational decisions harmful to them. Sometimes, for example, biases are based on the outdated assumptions that woman's proper role is homemaker and dependent. Others seem to reflect attitudes that women, their lives and aspirations--and barriers to those aspirations--are not important enough to be studied.

Sex biases can be found in the kinds of questions researchers ask the population being studied. Project TALENT, a major 20-year longitudinal study of high school students which began with Office of Education support in 1960, offers some examples. The original questionnaire sent out to students recognized that mothers may work and that they may be chief family wage earners. But the questions about responsibilities on the job were limited to fathers' jobs. The questionnaire also included questions relating "your (or your future husband's)" salary to amounts of life insurance, savings and investments. Male students could not include a wife's expected income; female students could not consider combined incomes of self and spouse.[61]

Another example turned up recently in a draft questionnaire prepared for another major longitudinal study now in progress with NCES support.[62] A special questionnaire for those neither in school nor employed reflected a number of highly unscientific assumptions about the role of women. The researchers assumed that everyone who was not employed and not in school was a full-time homemaker and female. The questionnaire repeatedly referred to "your husband," although there are men who by choice or necessity stay home, tending house and/or children. Respondents were also asked what vocational training they would prefer, and the choices were all occupations traditionally attracting large numbers of women: secretarial, dental assistant, food services, beautician, child care. Another question asked whether respondents had taken noncredit adult education courses--courses for credit were not included, implying that women in the home would not be interested in academic education for credit. Fortunately, NCES recognized the problems with this questionnaire, and it has never been used. It is a useful example, however, of the kind of biases that creep into ostensibly "objective" and "scientific" research.

## Single Sex Studies

Researchers sometimes pick members of one sex or the other as subjects for study. On the basis of an extensive ERIC search, the task force found that this practice tends to produce distorted information in areas of great importance to women. In the abstracts surveyed, single sex studies were more than two times as likely to use males as females. Seventy-eight dealt with males only and 34 dealt only with females. Again, most of the 34 abstracts on women did not contain empirical studies, while most of the ones on males did report study results.

Researchers are also much more likely to use males rather than females as a basis for generalizing about the whole population. In our review of the ERIC files, for example, less than half the titles of male-only studies indicated that only men had been studied, while more than three fourths of the titles of female-only entries filed indicated that only females had been studied.

The tendency of researchers to draw general conclusions from a study of males is particularly disturbing and particularly prevalent in research in areas of special importance to women, or where important differences can be expected between men and women. In the abstracts reviewed, male-only studies focused most often on careers, the poor and the emotionally and physically handicapped. Slow readers, school dropouts, underachievers, the physically fit and delinquents were also the topics of male-only studies.

Few of the female-only abstracts dealt with careers. None of the other topics appeared in female-only studies except delinquency, which rated a study on "clothing fabric selection" among delinquent girls. There were no studies of female dropouts, no studies of poor or ethnic minority females and no studies of handicapped or underachieving females.

Single sex studies may also reflect faulty assumptions that males have a corner on the problem or issue under study: "Women don't usually work," or "It's really black males who have the problems," or "Most dropouts are male." None of these assumptions are true. Women do usually work, black women are subject to both sex and racial discrimination and have extremely serious problems, boys are only slightly more likely to drop out. It is time researchers understood that women too have pressing needs and began affording them the same attention as men.

The tendency of educational researchers to focus on males makes designing education programs that meet women's needs much harder. A great deal of research has been undertaken on the theory that the knowledge gained can eventually be put to use in changing educational practice. Biased research put to use cannot help but lead to biased educational approaches.

From even a brief look at the status of women in education, it is abundantly clear that education contributes its share to the exploitation of women. Through its system of formal education, society should seek both to nurture young minds and to open doors to lifelong opportunities. On both counts, education is failing the female sex.

# PART II

# THE HEW MANDATE

Part II describes the relationship between the Federal education agencies and the pervasive sex discrimination we documented in Part I.

Chapter I outlines existing discrimination in HEW programs and necessary steps to carry out a legal mandate to end discrimination in Federal education programs.

Chapter II presents a plan for creative Federal leadership in fulfilling the spirit of the laws against sex discrimination.

## THE HEW MANDATE

Until very recently, sex discrimination in education was perfectly legal. In fact, sex discrimination in the schools attracted little public attention. Only with the re-emergence of women's rights as a major national issue did sex discrimination in the schools begin to attract serious public attention.

Recent Executive and Congressional action now bars the Federal government from providing aid to an agency or institution practicing sex discrimination in education--either against students or against employees. In 1968, a Presidential Order called on universities and other Federal contractors to end sex discrimination in employment. In June 1972, Congress declared that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal assistance...."[1] While some institutions are exempted, this law extends the sex bias ban to discrimination against both students and employees in almost all institutions receiving Federal education aid.

Both Congress and the President have spoken: *wherever Federal education funds go, sex discrimination must stop*. That mandate poses a tremendous challenge to HEW and to other government agencies with education programs.

Since the myth of female inferiority is part of the basic fabric of our education system, we can hardly expect sex discrimination to disappear with the stroke of a pen. As with any progress in civil rights, fundamental change will come only with vigorous and persistant action.

Responsible Federal agencies must take the lead with a creative mixture of information and exhortation, incentives and sanctions. The Assistant Secretary for Education and the agencies reporting to him must be heavily involved in that process. So must HEW's Office of Civil Rights and other Federal agencies engaged in education support.

## CHAPTER I: THE LEGAL IMPERATIVE

As we noted, public concern about sex biases in education and laws protecting the rights of women in education are fairly recent. It is not surprising, then, to find that the Office of Education has been distributing Federal aid with no questions asked. As a result, much of the serious and widespread discrimination described earlier is being supported, in part, with Federal education funds.

Together, the two laws banning Federal education aid to individuals and agencies discriminating against women are comprehensive:

-- Executive Order 11246, as amended effective October 1968, bars sex discrimination in employment among all Federal contractors, although not among grantees. Contractors (which include almost all colleges and universities) must draw up plans both to correct current discriminatory practices and to overcome the effects of past discrimination. Plans must include specific goals and timetables for action. Violations can result in withholding or loss of all government contracts.[2]

-- Title IX of P.L. 92-318 enacted in June 1972 prohibits any individual or institution benefiting from Federal education aid from discriminating on the basis of sex, either against students or employees. All Federal education funds can be cut off if an institution fails to comply. There are limited exceptions. Religious institutions acting on religious grounds and military academies are completely exempted and admissions discrimination is still permissible except in vocational, graduate, professional and public coeducational undergraduate schools.[3]

This chapter explores the implications of these civil rights laws for HEW. It outlines:

- -- major areas of sex bias directly supported by Federal education funds;
- -- action already taken by a few OE offices to counteract sex discrimination in programs they administer;
- -- steps the Assistant Secretary for Education and agency heads reporting to him must take to live up to basic legal requirements; and
- -- steps the Office for Civil Rights should take to strengthen enforcement procedures.

## UNCOVERING SEX BIAS IN OE AND NIE PROGRAMS

Chiefly because the agency has not been concerned about the use of its funds to deny women equal opportunity, OE and NIE funds do directly support discriminatory practices of all kinds. In some cases, these are sins of commission--unequal pay for equal work, for instance. In others, they are sins of omissions--for example, the failure to recruit women actively in predominantly male training programs.

Below, we cite examples of these biases in several important areas, from career preparation to curriculum development to research. The problems highlighted here are by no means the only ones, but they are among the most important. Then, too, the task force was dependent on program information available in Washington: these are all program areas where some information on the impact on women was at hand.

### Vocational and Manpower Training

As we indicated in Part I, vocational and manpower training programs, wittingly or unwittingly, are helping to channel the bulk of the Nation's female workers into low-paying jobs. OE's own programs are no different. The agency's programs have reinforced, rather than counteracted, a strong tradition of sex bias in vocational training. This is true of training programs for students under the Vocational Education Act (VEA) and for unemployed and underemployed adults--primarily the poor--under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA).

OE programs tend to train women for a much narrower range of occupations than men--occupations which usually promise little pay, poor chances for advancement,and minimal challenge. By and large, male trainees select from a far greater range of training opportunities, resulting in relatively high paid skilled trade and technical jobs.

Under MDTA, a recent study discovered that the Department of Labor's individual referral service, which places people in some institutional MDTA programs, assigned male trainees to training for 177 different occupations; women were only assigned to 12.[4] Over half the female students in vocational education are being trained for support staff office jobs--receptionist, typist, file clerk and so on. In MDTA institutional training in 1970, half the women were trained for similar jobs: clerical and sales. Sixty-four percent of the men, on the other hand, learned "machine trades" and "structural work"-- two training categories which bring in considerably higher earnings after training.[5]

The differences in earnings these disparities will produce are tremendously costly to women throughout their working lives. In fact, the average female MDTA trainee earns less after training than the average male trainee does before training.[6]

A great deal of vocational and manpower training is completely segregated by sex. Separation of the sexes is taken for granted in our vocational and manpower training programs. So much so, that when States were asked to identify their best vocational education projects serving disadvantaged and handicapped students, 14 listed projects serving only one sex.[7] Annual reports on MDTA from 1967-70 feature a total of 103 photographs, barely 10 percent showing classes with both men and women.

Although home economics and industrial arts programs are not strictly vocational education, sex segregation is a common pattern here too. The $25.6 million Consumer and Homemaking Education program may be supporting extensive sex discrimination, since most school systems still exclude boys from home economics courses. While the program has no statistics on how many of its projects actively exclude boys, it does focus chiefly on courses designed to prepare young women for a dual role as worker and homemaker, and only 7 percent of the program's participants are male.

This year for the first time, vocational education funds can also be spent on industrial arts courses, which most school districts close to girls. If industrial arts courses do not open up to girls, OE may become a direct partner in still another kind of sex discrimination.

The limited career aspirations many girls acquire early in life are certainly an important factor in problems of sex typing in vocational training. But OE's vocational and manpower training programs must take their share of the blame. They have clearly failed to encourage girls to seek training for occupations promising more pay or better opportunities. In many cases, vocational and manpower programs have actively discouraged both sexes from training for careers dominated by the other sex.

## Career Education

Top OE leadership has generated a great deal of interest in an important new concept that could tackle sex stereotyped career expectations early: career education. Career education aims to completely revamp elementary and secondary education in order to maximize career options for every student. Since it involves teaching children about careers from the early school years on, the new initiative has tremendous potential for counteracting prejudices concerning women's work roles before they are firmly developed.

Even so, without a conscious effort to prevent sex stereotyping in children's career ideas, career education will simply be a new way of reinforcing the old prejudices. Girls will learn earlier that they can expect to be stewardesses, secretaries and nurses; boys will learn earlier that they can expect to be astronauts and doctors, politicians and carpenters, draftsmen and business executives.

The task force did find indications that these biases are already developing in the OE/NIE career education effort:

-- A brochure from one exemplary career education project, which has become a model for school-based career education, says that classes should "teach us early to respect the work men do."[8]

-- Sex stereotyping is evident in several draft curriculum units under development for school-based career education. A third grade unit on retail jobs, "The Supermarket," for instance, makes it clear that all supermarket jobs but one (cashier) are men's jobs. Another, a home economics curriculum designed for ninth grade girls, only encourages girls to investigate careers related to home economics. Sex stereotypes pervade the entire unit. For example, when girls are asked about long range goals, the author lists looking for a part-time job and going to college to be a preschool teacher as expected responses.

-- Under another career education experiment now underway, employers themselves will provide students with career awareness, job experience and training and academic instruction. Since sex discrimination is virtually universal in the employment world, sex discrimination in the program itself is likely unless cooperating employers agree to offer both sexes the same opportunities. So far, no one has moved to guarantee participating female students equal treatment.

The career education program is working on one model that should benefit women: the home/community-based model aimed at reaching people, mainly women, in the home. Though this model has gotten off to a slow start, we are hopeful that it may help women in the home to enter or re-enter careers.

## Educational and Public Relations Materials

OE, and now NIE, spend substantial resources on developing educational and training materials for national distribution. Even though the task force was able to examine only a few samples, we did find a number of sex biases. In addition to learning materials, the public information materials OE produces on its own programs sometimes contain the same kind of biases:

-- OE has funded the development of an extremely sex biased career guidance test as part of the career education efforts now administered by NIE. "The Self-Directed Search" tends to discourage girls from entering skilled trades and technical professions; boys are likely to be discouraged from entering office and service occupations now dominated by women. The test draws occupational preference profiles based on what students have done or like to do and on their own assessment of their competencies and talents. A girl who has never repaired a TV set, taken shop or been encouraged to believe she has scientific ability is likely to be steered away from the largest group of occupations listed--including forester, architectual draftsman, barber, air traffic controller, jeweler and optician. In the same way, boys may be dissuaded from looking into such fields as English teacher, philosopher and even foreign service officer.

-- A workbook designed to teach elementary school children action concepts shows boys and girls in sex-typed roles--boys are active, while girls are passive and domestic. Girls, not boys, are shown sitting, standing, and sleeping--all "actions" without movement. Girls are also the only ones pictured sewing, washing dishes, cooking, playing with dolls and sweeping. Boys, on the other hand, are shown shoveling, marching, playing with tanks and cars, fishing, washing a car, painting a house and flying kites.[9]

-- OE's own public information materials have produced similar sex stereotypes. The most notable example, the "Career Education" film produced for OE-sponsored career education workshops, showed women in limited and stereotyped female occupational roles. All supervisors but one were male, and the lower paying occupations were generally held by women. The film had men in over 30 different occupations, women in fewer than 20. To his credit, former Commissioner Marland did recognize the problem with the film and recalled it for re-editing. Shortly before, OE's American Education magazine had gone to press with an ad for the film, featuring a photograph of children in career education: boys posing as doctor, policeman and fireman; and a girl posing as a nurse.

## Education Personnel

OE and NIE programs affect employment in education chiefly in two different ways: through jobs in agency-funded projects at the State and local level and through training in our many education personnel training programs (NIE has just one: Researcher Training). By and large, both jobs and training supported by the two agencies contribute to the overall inequities facing women who work in education.

Men overwhelmingly dominate the administration of OE and NIE funded projects. This is clear from information on project directors gathered by the task force; unfortunately, we could not obtain information on other project staff. In almost all of the programs which could furnish data on project directors by sex (approximately 40), fewer than one-fifth of the project directors were female.

According to program staff reports, most recent data showed there were no female directors in the 27 Education Leadership projects funded under the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) Part D. Women headed only:

-- one out of 18 ERIC clearinghouses,
-- two of the 80 MDTA skills centers, and
-- three of the 106 Language and Area Centers funded under Title VI of the National Defense Education Act(NDEA).

No regional education laboratory or research and development center was headed by a woman, and 65 out of 67 laboratory and center program directors were men.

Women seem to be just as scarce in decision-making positions at the State level, according to the scattered information available. Here too, in most of the programs for which we did get statistics, fewer than 20 percent of the State program coordinators were female. Women represented only:

-- 3 percent of the State adult education directors,
-- 11 percent of the directors for Title III of the National Defense Education Act,
-- 4 percent of the directors for Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and
-- 1 out of 56 State vocational education directors.

In the traditionally "female" fields, the record was better. Over half of the Right to Read program's 35 State coordinators were women. For two library programs--Title I of the Library Services and Construction Act and ESEA Title II--the figures were 42 percent female and 36 percent female, respectively. These statistics are still disappointing, however, since 4 out of every 5 librarians are women.

Opportunities in Personnel Training. The record in promoting equal opportunities in education for women through OE and NIE personnel training programs is mixed. As expected, OE programs are generally training women for educational roles already dominated by women. They are being trained to serve as teachers and paraprofessionals in elementary and secondary, early childhood and special education. Men are being trained for roles which they already dominate: administration and leadership in education at all levels, teaching in higher education and research and development.

A few programs do seem to be contributing to equal opportunities for women and men in education. EPDA Part E serves a higher proportion of women than currently exists in higher education: while only 1 in 5 faculty members is female, 43 percent of the fellowships went to women in FY 1971-72, and a sampling of FY 1969-71 institute participants indicated that women were slightly less than one-third. In addition, several of the EPDA programs are bringing more men into elementary and secondary education by emphasizing veterans. The Career Opportunities Program raised the proportion of male aides being trained from 18 to 39 percent in one year. And EPDA Part B-2, in attracting and qualifying new educational personnel, focuses on mature women returning to work, a group badly neglected by most training programs. This program, however, is being phased out.

Despite these gains, the proportion of women is highest in training for jobs at the bottom of the career ladder (paraprofessionals) and lowest in training for jobs at the top (administration) throughout OE and NIE education personnel training programs:

-- Several programs funded under EPDA estimated that women were over 90 percent of the aides or paraprofessionals trained.

-- The Training Teacher Trainers program (TTT) funded under EPDA reported that women were 82 percent of the aides, 69 percent of the teachers, and 19 percent of the administrators trained.

-- Women were a scant 25 percent of the trainees in school administration under the EPDA Education Leadership program, according to program reports. Program staff reported that leadership training under the Education for the Handicapped Act also serves mostly men.

Moreover, many training programs clearly have not been serving women in the target population equitably. Since training, especially advanced training, can be the key to professional advancement, these programs are contributing to a system that advances men more readily than women, even in fields heavily dominated by women.

- -- Though the overwhelming majority of school librarians are women, Title HEA II-B doctoral fellowships go mainly to men. In the program's first four years, school years 1966-67 through 1969-70, women in the program received only 38 percent of the doctoral degrees.[10]
- -- Women have been seriously underrepresented in vocational education personnel training under EPDA Part F. According to program staff, 13 percent of the fellowship recipients were women. In contrast, women are over two-fifths of the people teaching secondary vocational education, where most vocational education staff can be found.[11]
- -- Since 1964-65, women have received only 5 percent of the faculty research fellowships funded under the Fulbright-Hays Act. This is a small fraction of the proportion of women on the higher education faculties.

## Access to Education

OE funds help to support the many discriminatory practices that make it particularly difficult for women to gain access to the education they want.

In student aid, for example, the ETS study mentioned earlier found discrimination against women in both the Equal Opportunity Grant Program and the National Defense Student Loan Program. Women were over half of the recipients in both programs, but the mean Equal Opportunity Grant for women was 20 percent less than that for men. Despite the fact that women typically receive more student financial aid through loans than men, women averaged slightly smaller loans than men under the National Defense Student Loan program.[12] These differences could not explained by differences in need, since the study found that male/female income levels were comparable.

In terms of admissions practices, OE funds go to a variety of institutions practicing discriminatory admissions policies, including single sex vocational schools now required in Title IX to open their doors to both sexes. In addition, thousands of school districts which regularly expel pregnant students participate in agency-funded programs.

## Research

Sex biases were common in research and development materials examined by the task force. In fact, two examples of sex biases in research mentioned in Part I came from studies funded by OE: Project TALENT and the draft longitudinal study questionnaire to full-time homemakers (See page 19).

OE has funded numerous studies of just one sex. OE supported, for instance, a major study on the effects of dropping out of high school; only male dropouts were studied. Another study, in the planning stages at one of NIE's research and development centers, would investigate influences on the vocational education decisions of male black adolescents. Aimed at the development of "more effective career guidance for disadvantaged black youth," this study will shed no light on the career guidance needs of young black women.[13]

## ACTION TO DATE

This task force is the Office of Education's first agency-wide attempt to confront these issues. Neither OE nor NIE has begun to act on the new legal mandate to eliminatedbiases in their own programs. However, a few programs have already taken first steps on their own initiative. For example:

- -- The Bureau of Adult, Vocational and Technical Education (BAVTE) formally warned vocational educators to avoid discriminating against both students and employees on the basis of sex, as well as race, color and religion. Sent to State and regional staff in January 1972, BAVTE's memorandum on biases in vocational education represents OE's only warning to recipients of agency grants on sex discrimination.
- -- The Researcher Training Program, now under NIE, notified FY 1972 applicants for training funds that they should work to develop the talents of women, as well as minorities, industry personnel and representatives of a wide variety of disciplines. This is an important step, although the addition of industry personnel and representatives of different disciplines dilutes the impact of the statement as an equal opportunity measure.
- -- A few offices report that they have made some effort to review materials for sex biases: The Office of Public Affairs (public affairs materials), the

National Center for Educational Communications (materials on exemplary programs and practices slated for national dissemination) and the Center for Vocational Education Curriculum Development (vocational education curriculum materials). These efforts have not always been effective, though, as the examples of sex biases in public affairs materials mentioned earlier indicate.

-- The Vocational Education Exemplary Programs staff has urged project directors to make use of pamphlets encouraging training for girls in traditionally male occupational fields.

-- The Higher Education Training Program under EPDA Part E has established as one of its priorities programs preparing women for careers in higher education. Again, this is progress, although its impact is diluted since this is one of many priorities.

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-- The Institute for International Studies (IIS) established its own task force last summer (1972) to assess the impact of IIS programs on women.

## NEXT STEPS FOR HEW'S EDUCATION AGENCIES

With the enactment of new laws banning sex discrimination, OE and NIE's first responsibility must be to use all the administrative tools at hand to eliminate sex discrimination in agency programs. The Office for Civil Rights will take the formal actions necessary to secure institution-wide compliance for recipients of Federal funds. But tackling sex discrimination in education cannot, must not, be left solely to the work of an enforcement agency.

While OE and NIE have no powers to press for compliance throughout an entire institution, they do have sole authority for the conduct of their own programs. Since it is now illegal for these agencies to supply funds to any institution discriminating on the basis of sex, it is up to them to do whatever they can to prevent direct discrimination under OE and NIE programs.

OE and NIE must notify contractors and grantees about the new laws, secure assurances of compliance and monitor programs for evidence of discrimination. In addition, both agencies will need to use their discretion over project grant programs as leverage to assure compliance in areas where discrimination against women has been especially acute. The informal pressure and leadership which the Assistant Secretary and his education agencies can provide, coupled with the case-by-case legal action from the civil rights office, are both needed to meet the challenge. All of these units will need to carry out their complementary responsibilities in close cooperation.

## Making the Legal Requirements Known

As a beginning, NIE and OE need to provide explicit instruction to each recipient of their funds about its obligation to end sex discrimination. Notices must be placed in guidelines and other agency publications; applications must be changed to include an assurance that grantees will comply with the ban against sex discrimination. Both are already standard operating procedure for the racial discrimination ban in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Simple notification will not be enough; aid recipients will need guidelines spelling out their concrete responsibilities under the new law. Failure to provide these institutions with specific guidelines has caused difficulties in securing compliance with the Executive Order. OE has not furnished prospective contractors with the documents detailing required action: Department of Labor guidelines, Revised Order No. 4 or new HEW guidelines just developed for universities. Both OE and NIE must begin to supply these materials, along with regulations and guidelines on Title IX when available, routinely to all prospective beneficiaries of agency funds.

OE and NIE will need to act promptly. Title IX is already in effect, and FY 1973 projects should not be funded until an assurance of compliance is given. Where program documents have already appeared without these additions, program offices should distribute addenda at once to make up for that oversight.

Specific written guidance must be supplemented with working sessions between administrators and HEW staff where information and concerns about Title IX compliance and enforcement can be freely exchanged. That way administrators can discuss precisely how Title IX applies to their own policies and practices. Title IX workshops should reach a range of education personnel: school superintendents and university presidents, student financial aid and budget officers, career counselors and librarians and so on. NIE should direct similar efforts to researchers and research directors, heads of regional laboratories and R&D centers. OE should place special emphasis on informing State agency officials, since State staff will be responsible for monitoring local projects funded under State formula grant programs for compliance with the new law.

## Monitoring for Compliance

Once the minimal legal forms and information needs are met, OE and NIE must include a check on Title IX compliance in their own monitoring activities. Many programs do attempt some monitoring--through site review teams, telephone checks or written reports. Whatever the method, program officers should look at the treatment of women in each program and take steps to resolve any problems they discover. Here again, OCR should help out by suggesting standards to be used in program monitoring.

## Applying Leverage through Discretionary Authority

In addition, NIE and OE must use their discretionary authority to combat sex biases in program areas where discrimination is particularly damaging.

Instructional and Informational Materials. As we noted earlier, both agencies support the development of educational and public relations materials intended for broad national distribution: curriculum materials, teacher training techniques, program reports, films and so on. To stop perpetuating sex biases in these materials, NIE and OE should take several steps:

-- Notify developers, both inside the agency and out, of their obligation to avoid sex biases. This can be done formally--through guidelines, for instance--and informally--in the course of contract negotiations.

-- Produce a pamphlet on avoiding sex bias as a guide for developers. This would serve not only the agency's own needs for consistency, but also the growing number of people across the country who are becoming concerned with sex bias in the schools and in the media.

-- Review the products of agency-funded development efforts for sex biases before they are finalized. Most of these materials are already subject to review, either by the program unit supporting their development or, for public relations materials, by the Office of Public Affairs. To insure that materials are reviewed carefully for sex bias, specific staff people in appropriate offices should be designated to perform that job. These people should be named after consulting with women in each office about which staff members would be most sensitive to sex bias.

In most cases, sex stereotypes can be eliminated without much trouble. Changing photographs, revising a story line slightly, deleting words here or pictures there will usually suffice. For a few projects, however, sexism will be so deeply lodged in the fundamental concept of the work that the only remedy will be complete rejection. We found one such case: the "Self-Guided, Search" guidance test developed at Johns Hopkins (see page 29) and urge that support for it be dropped.

Career Education. Both NIE and OE have already invested substantial energy in the success of Career Education. If we fail to use our influence to counteract sex bias in pioneer career education projects, these "models" and "exemplary programs" will offer new ways to reinforce outdated career aspirations for both girls and boys. Eliminating sex segregation should be established as a priority under all education and training programs for careers, and model and exemplary projects should be held accountable for involving both sexes in all activities.

Other Areas for Action. Other related recommendations speak for themselves; they range from promoting the advancement of women through training programs to avoiding sex biases in research.

## Strengthening Title IX

Finally, we propose two additional steps designed to strengthen Title IX. Title IX covers all Federal agencies supporting education: the National Science Foundation, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, the Department of Defense and so on. To our knowledge, these agencies have taken no action on Title IX. We suggest that the Federal Interagency Committee on Education work to get all appropriate Federal agencies moving on enforcement of Title IX.

We urge the Assistant Secretary to seek an amendment to Title IX itself, extending its coverage to admissions in elementary and secondary schools, to military academies, to single sex public undergraduate colleges, and private coeducational undergraduate colleges. There is no justification for allowing institutions which receive public monies to restrict educational opportunities for either sex. Both women and men ultimately suffer from this practice. We have avoided recommending that admissions to private undergraduate institutions be covered, however, since the task force could not agree on removing the exemption for these institutions. Half of the task force felt these institutions do have merit, and that as private institutions they should continue to qualify for Federal aid they may need to survive.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### Making the Legal Requirements Known

1. We recommend that OE and NIE fully inform potential and actual recipients of Federal education aid of their obligations to eliminate sex discrimination under Title IX and Executive Order 11246. Specifically, we recommend that:

   a. All OE and NIE guidelines, regulations and other appropriate documents be amended to include a statement on Title IX, P.L. 92-318, and require applicants to submit an assurance of compliance. OE and NIE should attach an addendum to this effect to all FY 1973 program documents already printed without this statement.

   b. All OE and NIE contracts and grants officers provide all applicants with detailed instructions on their obligations under Title IX and Executive Order 11246 before they sign assurances of compliance. Contractors should receive a copy of Revised Order No. 4, Department of Labor guidelines and HEW guidelines. All potential aid recipients should receive Title IX regulations and guidelines when published.

2. We recommend that OE and NIE provide information and technical assistance concerning Title IX and its implications directly to State education personnel, school administrators and education personnel throughout the country. Specifically, we recommend that:

   a. Each Deputy Commissioner in OE and equivalent within NIE be responsible for conducting extensive workshops and conferences on Title IX for key State and local personnel in their respective areas of concern. All regular program workshops and conferences sponsored by the two agencies should include briefings on Title IX. These should be conducted on a continuing basis as long as sex discrimination remains a major problem in education. A specific person in NIE and OE should be designated to coordinate each agency's plans for these activities.

   b. The Commissioner of Education make Title IX a major topic of discussion in his next meeting with the Chief State School Officers. He should emphasize the leadership role the Federal government will expect the State education agencies to play in eliminating sex discrimination at the State and local levels.

## Monitoring for Compliance

3. We recommend that OE and NIE monitor their own programs for Title IX compliance. Specifically, we recommend that OE and NIE include compliance status checks on all regular site reviews, including State management reviews conducted under ESEA Title V. OE's Deputy Commissioners and equivalent officials in NIE should work with the Office for Civil Rights to develop reporting forms and uniform criteria for monitoring compliance status in site reviews.

## Leverage through Discretionary Authority: Instructional and Information Materials

4. We recommend that OE and NIE insure that all instructional and public relations materials developed with OE and NIE funds for national distribution be free of sex biases. This would include career and vocational materials used in model and exemplary programs. Specifically, we recommend that:

   a. Guidelines, requests for proposals and other appropriate documents stress as a condition for funding that materials be developed without sex stereotyping.

   b. OE's Office of Public Affairs, in cooperation with OE and NIE program staff, develop a guidebook concerned with avoiding sex biases to assist contractors, grantees and agency staff in developing materials.

   c. OE and NIE designate at least one staff person within each appropriate program and public affairs office to clear new materials before their completion and dissemination. These staff people should be selected after consultation with the women in these offices.

   d. OE and NIE review existing projects for sex biases. As part of this effort, NIE support for the "Self Directed Search" guidance system developed at Johns Hopkins should be terminated.

## Leverage through Discretionary Authority: Career Education

5. We recommend that OE and NIE work together to eliminate sex discrimination in career preparation. Specifically, we recommend that:

   a. OE and NIE establish the elimination of sex segregation as one of career education's major goals, and emphasize that new goal in materials explaining the career education concept.

   b. Program guidelines and other appropriate documents be amended to emphasize that the elimination of sex segregation is a priority in education and training for careers.

   c. Guidelines require all model and exemplary programs in career education and training report their success in including students of both sexes in all education activities.

## Other Areas for Action--Training

6. We recommend that OE and NIE work to equalize the proportion of men and women at all levels and in all areas of education through training programs. Personnel training program guidelines should be modified to require applicants to include plans for increasing the numbers of male and female participants in fields where either sex is underrepresented as well as report annually on progress towards achieving that goal. Specifically, we recommend that:

   a. Greater numbers of women be trained in areas where they are currently underrepresented, such as educational administration in all fields, trades and industry in vocational education, educational research and development, educational technology, the "hard" sciences and in other appropriate areas.

   b. Greater numbers of men be trained for employment in entry level positions in areas where they are currently underrepresented, such as early childhood education, elementary education, special education, home economics, business/office education, the health professions and in other appropriate areas. In addition, greater numbers of men should be trained as paraprofessionals in all fields.

## Other Areas for Action--Project Administration

7. We recommend that OE and NIE promote the involvement of women in top positions in OE-and NIE-funded projects. Specifically, we recommend that:

    a. OE and NIE amend guidelines for discretionary programs to require that applicants for funds submit data on title, salary and responsibilities of top project staff by sex.

    b. OE and NIE review that information for evidence of discrimination and negotiate before funding for the correction of any inequities.

    c. In all program guidelines and other official program documents, OE and NIE emphasize their interest in receiving applications from women and for projects directed by women.

    d. OE and NIE, working with women's organizations, encourage women to apply for discretionary program funds. Women's organizations should be included on appropriate mailing lists for application notification and guideline distribution.

## Other Areas for Action--Research

8. We recommend that OE, NIE and the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation (ASPE) review for sex biases all research instruments to be used in education studies they fund.

9. We recommend that OE, NIE and ASPE insure, before funding education research projects, that projects studying people use samples of both sexes and report results by sex. Exceptions should be made only when the information sought is already available for one sex or when a study is explicitly designed to serve the goal of equality of the sexes and special circumstances require a one-sex study.

    Specifically, we recommend that guidelines, requests for proposals and other appropriate documents state the conditions under which one-sex studies are permissible and request that anyone applying for funds for such a study provide a justification.

## Strengthening Title IX

10. We recommend that the Federal Interagency Committee on Education explore the implications of Title IX for other Federal agencies providing education assistance and encourage those agencies to take the necessary action to enforce Title IX.

11. We recommend that the Assistant Secretary for Education strongly urge the amendment of Title IX to cover admissions in elementary and secondary schools, military academies, single sex public undergraduate colleges and private coeducational undergraduate colleges.

## NEXT STEPS: THE OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) already handles Executive Order enforcement in higher education institutions. Title IX expands its sex discrimination enforcement authority to institutions of all kinds receiving Federal education aid, with very few exceptions.

OCR's work is absolutely critical to the effectiveness of any civil rights law applying to HEW programs. The Office interprets these laws through regulations and guidelines, conducts on-site compliance investigations, negotiates with institutions found out of compliance and notifies HEW agencies to terminate funding if contractors or grantees refuse to comply. Clearly, the impact of anti-sex discrimination laws will depend largely on how effectively OCR carries out its job.

### Executive Order Enforcement

So far, the record in enforcing equal treatment for women in employment under the Executive Order has been disappointing. The Executive Order itself and enforcement efforts have proven weaken chiefly in two areas: accountability and compliance standards.

Accountability. Unless the government conducts a compliance investigation, a contractor is not accountable for its efforts to live up to the Executive Order. While they are required to develop an affirmative action program detailing plans to eliminate sex (and race) discrimination, contractors do not have to submit them to Federal officials; public agencies and small contractors are not even required to put them into writing. In fact, compliance investigators have found that many contractors that are required to put their plans in writing do not bother to do so, since they do not have to submit them for approval. The government neither approves affirmative action programs nor monitors progress in carrying them out as a routine matter.

Only if the enforcement unit (OCR, in HEW's case) decides to do a compliance investigation does an institution have to answer for the adequacy of its affirmative action program, or its efforts to live up to it. Investigations are costly and time consuming and only a small minority of institutions do undergo such an investigation. Trying to enforce the Order without routine review of all affirmative action plans would be like trying to achieve school desegregation by telling dual school systems they must desegregate, asking them to devise their own program (either written or unwritten) and then assuming that desegregation has occurred.

Compliance Standards. In addition, OCR has been slow in developing and promulgating specific standards for compliance. It took four years after coverage of sex discrimination was added to the Executive Order for OCR to come out with guidelines dealing with sex bias in higher education institutions. OCR has also failed to develop uniform standards to guide its own personnel in compliance reviews. Investigations are handled by regional office staff, and procedures and compliance standards vary from region to region, from institution to institution. Not only does an absence of uniform standards frustrate effective civil rights policy, it is unfair to any institution making a genuine effort to comply with the Federal government's equal employment demands.

## Enforcement of Title IX

Hopefully, Title IX enforcement will be more vigorous than efforts to date under the Executive Order. Of course, it is still too early to tell. We must make clear, however, our concern that OCR move promptly and decisively on Title IX enforcement. Regulations, now under development, must be specific enough to give educators a concrete understanding of what is expected, especially in terms of sex discrimination against students which the government has never before tackled. Detailed guidelines need to follow just as promptly.

OCR will need to provide regional offices with clear and uniform procedures for investigation and enforcement. We urge a special focus on sex discrimination at the State level, since State education agencies, with administrative responsibility for much of the Federal aid funds, exert a great deal of influence over the way local school districts spend their funds. We also strongly advise that the enforcement of Title IX to be carried out in coordination with efforts under the Executive Order. Not only would that minimize duplication of efforts, it would also ensure that each investigation covers discrimination against both students and employers.

## Discrimination in OCR Staffing

As a law enforcement agency, the Office for Civil Rights has a special obligation to meet the standards it sets for others. OCR's record in hiring female professionals is appalling.

Women are only 11.6 percent of all OCR professionals GS-13 and over. In the mid levels, OCR employs 77 GS-13's--7 are women; 59 GS-14's--8 are women; and 31 GS-15's--4 are women.

Full-Time Professional OCR Staff, as of 11/12/72

| Grade | Total | No. of Men | No. of Women | Percentage of Women |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 16 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 25 |
| 15 | 31 | 27 | 4 | 13 |
| 14 | 59 | 51 | 8 | 14 |
| 13 | 77 | 70 | 7 | 9 |
| 12 | 38 | 28 | 10 | 26 |
| 11 | 42 | 15 | 27 | 64 |
| 9 | 38 | 15 | 23 | 61 |
| 7 | 35 | 3 | 32 | 91 |

The Office for Civil Rights is charged with guarding the rights of women under billions of dollars worth of HEW grants and contracts. Minority groups have argued for a long time that full minority representation is the key to energetic civil rights enforcement. By the same token, rights of women in HEW programs can only be protected if women have an equal share in senior and decision-making positions in the Office for Civil Rights.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Executive Order Enforcement: Accountability*

12. *We recommend that HEW's Office for Civil Rights strengthen its procedures for holding contractors accountable for compliance to Executive Order 11246. Specifically, we recommend that HEW guidelines require contractors to submit affirmative action plans for approval whether or not a compliance review has been made; plans should be accepted or rejected within three months after submission.*

### *Title IX Enforcement: Compliance Standards*

13. *We recommend that the Office for Civil Rights develop strong uniform procedures for investigating sex discrimination in education. Specifically, we recommend that:*

    a. *OCR develop a standard procedure for collecting and evaluating information at defined intervals on the compliance status of institutions under Title IX and Executive Order 11246.*

    b. *Investigations initiated under Executive Order 11246 be carried out in conjunction with investigations initiated under Title IX.*

### *Title IX Enforcement: State Education Agencies*

14. *We recommend that the Office for Civil Rights work directly with each State to overcome present inequities experienced by women in State education agencies. Specifically, werrecommend that OCR set the investigation of State education agencies as a priority under Title IX enforcement.*

## CHAPTER II: BEYOND THE LEGAL IMPERATIVE

Administrative action to enforce the legal ban on sex discrimination is only the first step towards achieving equality for women in education. Over time, we must work for fundamental change throughout the education system. Ultimately, the fight for change must be won in every school district, in every college and university. In that struggle, the Federal government's principle contribution must be leadership, since government can directly affect only a small share of the Nation's education resources. We look then to HEW as a catalyst for change.

This chapter outlines the most important leadership roles HEW's "House of Education" should play: public education, helping students and teachers to explore new roles for both sexes, fostering new educational approaches and knowledge building. Finally, it lists the internal management changes the education agencies ought to make if they are serious about championing women's right to equal educational opportunities over the long term.

## EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

There is remarkably little understanding, either in the education community or in the public at large, of the serious barriers to equality women face today throughout education. If education institutions all around the country are to begin removing those barriers, many more people--inside the education system and out--will have to appreciate the problem.

The Assistant Secretary for Education and the agencies reporting to him have substantial public information resources at their command. Through press releases and reports, articles and films, program and public affairs staff generate a steady flow of information on education issues of national importance. Top agency officials are constantly in demand for speeches and other public appearances; both the Commissioner and his Deputies had extensive speaking schedules last year.

All of these information resources can be put to work building public awareness of the inequalities women experience in education. In OE, a few efforts have already been made:

-- The Commissioner early in 1972 issued a strong statement on the educational rights of pregnant students. He said:

> Every girl in the United States has a right to and a need for the education that will help her prepare herself for a career, for family life, and for citizenship. To be married or pregnant is not sufficient cause to deprive her of an education and the opportunity to become a contributing member of society.[14]
>
> The U.S. Office of Education strongly urges school systems to provide continuing education for girls who become pregnant. Most pregnant girls are physically able to remain in their regular classes during most of their pregnancy. Any decision to modify a pregnant girl's school program should be made only after consulting with the girl, her parents, or her husband if she is married, and the appropriate educational, medical, and social service authorities.

> Further, local school systems have an obligation to cooperate with such other State, county, and city agencies as health and welfare departments and with private agencies and physicians to assure that pregnant girls receive proper medical, psychological, and social services during pregnancy and for as long as needed thereafter.
>
> The needs of pregnant girls are but one aspect of our concern. Young fathers also require assistance to enable them to meet the considerable responsibilities which they have assumed. We shall continue to emphasize in all aspects of our concept of comprehensive programs for school-age parents, the problems, the needs, the resources, the processes, and the program activities which will serve both young women and young men experiencing or anticipating early parenthood. In so doing, we also serve the children involved, and intend to promote a more successful "services" integration model" for them--a strengthened family structure.

-- OE just sponsored a conference on sex role stereotypes in the schools, held Thanksgiving weekend, 1972. Conducted by the National Education Association, the conference attracted participants from various segments of the education community and the concerned public.

-- The agency is sponsoring a portable exhibit on school-aged parents, dramatizing the problems these young women face and the need for services to parents of both sexes.

-- The December 1972 issue of American Education, OE's own mass circulation magazine, carries a lead article on the laws banning sex discrimination in Federally-funded programs.

These are excellent initial efforts, yet the Education Division has barely begun to use the public information resources it has available. The Commissioner delivered 35 major addresses over the last school year, the Deputies among them many more. However, no top agency official has ever delivered a speech whose primary focus was a fundamental civil rights issue affecting half the population: equality for women.[15]

Top level leadership is needed to emphasize the seriousness of the inequities facing women in education. In addition, OE, NIE and the Assistant Secretary should use other media at their command to increase public awareness.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### Educating the Public

15. *We recommend that the Assistant Secretary for Education, the Commissioner of Education, the Director of NIE and their respective Deputies should arrange to speak before key national education groups on their responsibilities for ending discriminatory practices. For example, we suggest that:*

    a. *The Assistant Secretary for Education or the Commissioner of Education address a conference of the major book publishing associations on OE's concern with sex stereotyping in educational materials and its effect on the status of women in education.*

    b. *The Director of NIE's Career Education Task Force and the Deputy Commissioner for Occupational and Adult Education speak before the American Vocational Association and other key vocational groups on the need to encourage young men and women to explore the entire range of vocational opportunities.*

    c. *The Assistant Secretary for Education or the Commissioner of Education discuss the detrimental effects of inadequate counseling on lowering female career aspirations before the national meetings of secondary school counselors.*

16. *We recommend that the Office of Public Affairs use the range of media at its disposal to expand public consciousness of the growing struggle among women to secure equal opportunities in education. Specifically, we recommend that:*

    a. *OPA work with program officials to produce a documentary film for public distribution on ways education can help women to break traditional sex barriers in various occupations at all levels.*

b. OPA organize an exhibit on women and sex discrimination in education for use at education conferences and at gatherings of women's rights groups. The exhibit might premiere in the Office of Eduaation's main lobby, and focus particularly on Title IX, sexism in career training, and sex stereotyping in elementary school curricula.

c. In cooperation with the Office for Civil Rights in HEW, OPA develop and disseminate a pamphlet to the general public on laws protecting women's rights to equal opportunities in education.

d. American Education continue to publish articles to be made available in reprint form on the roles and progress of women in education.

## EXPLORING NEW ROLES FOR WOMEN AND MEN

If schools are to take the mandate to eliminate sex biases seriously, they will have to discard many outdated attitudes, practices, and educational tools. Teaching techniques, textbooks, films, and guidance tests will all need basic revisions.

Unless OE and NIE take the initiative in developing replacements for these antiquated teaching tools, educators will have nowhere to turn when they begin trying to overcome sex biases in the classroom.

Accepting the challenge will mean much more than merely producing neutral materials. It will demand new materials and learning approaches which explicitly address the problems of sexism and help teachers and students to cope with them.

The task force unearthed only one instance where OE has supported this kind of initiative--A curriculum unit designed to dispel traditional myths about women's roles in the work force. Aimed at secondary school girls, the unit provided students with information on occupations and on women's expanding role in the work force. Unfortunately, the Ohio State Center for Vocational and Technical Education produced this unit quite independently of the curriculum development for the school-based career education model. The Center has not yet adapted it or any other materials like it for inclusion in career education curriculums.

OE and NIE should continue supporting the development and dissemination of materials to help boys and girls understand the right of women to equal vocational opportunities and the underlying causes of job discrimination. At the same time, they should see that all model career education programs include components on the role of women in the work force.

In addition, OE and NIE should focus development and dissemination resources on curriculum and guidance materials which encourage students of both sexes to explore new roles, and on teacher training materials which aim to help teachers avoid biases in their dealings with students. To assist educators, teachers and citizens concerned about sexism in the present curriculum, OE should disseminate a bibliography of unsex-biased curriculum materials.

RECOMMENDATIONS

## *Exploring New Roles for Women and Men*

17. *We recommend that OE and NIE foster educational approaches which encourage children of both sexes to explore new roles. Specifically, we recommend that:*

    a. *OE and NIE fund the development of educational and guidance techniques and materials designed to encourage students to explore new roles, particularly in educational areas where sex discrimination is especially strong, as in career education and guidance testing.*

    b. *OE support the development and dissemination of teacher training materials on avoiding sex biases. In addition, we recommend that OE and NIE personnel training program guidelines be amended to encourage projects to include training in overcoming sex biases.*

    c. *OE develop and disseminate a bibliography of unsex-biased materials appropriate for school use, especially at the elementary and secondary levels.*

    d. *OE and NIE insure that all model and exemplary career education projects include instruction that explicitly addresses the problems of sex-stereotyped occupations and dispels myths about women in the work force.*

## SERVING WOMEN'S SPECIAL NEEDS

No one should be denied an education simply because she--or he--has chosen to raise a family.

Yet, education is out of reach for many women with family responsibilities not because of active sex discrimination--but because educational institutions do not provide the special services these women need to pursue education or training.

These problems, already summarized in Part I, are not susceptible to enforcement measures. Positive, not punitive action is called for to secure special services and new educational improvements compatible with these women's needs. With a modest redirection of resources, OE and NIE can do a great deal to expand educational opportunities for women with families.

### Action to Date

OE-NIE programs have supported scattered efforts to open up education to women with special needs:

-- The home/community-based career education model, mentioned above, will use the mass media to help unemployed adults in the home (chiefly women), take advantage of community career education resources. NIE is now funding the model's development.

-- The Adult Education Program offers part-time basic education. One project, "Armchair Education," reaches into the home to motivate prospective students to take advantage of educational and other community resources.

-- Title I of the Higher Education Act supports several projects serving women seeking continuing education and training. Eight projects funded in FY 1971 offered counseling services and skill training to women reentering the work force. However, these efforts remain limited, and projects have not been evaluated for their effectiveness in meeting women's needs.

-- Local school districts have opted to use funds from several programs for special projects for school-aged parents. In addition, OE is lead agency for a standing Interagency Task Force on Comprehensive Programs for School-Aged Parents, whose mission is to marshall Federal resources for teen-age parents.

## Next Steps

OE and NIE can do much more in using existing program resources to promote expanded educational opportunities for women--and men--for whom raising a family create special difficulties. The two agencies, along with the Fund for Improvement of Postsecondary Education, should act now on several fronts.

Child Care. Currently, no OE programs specifically authorize program funds for child care, although it is possible that some program funds such as ESEA, Title I, are supporting student day care services at local option. Title I and the Follow Through program will pay for babysitting costs necessary for parental participation, but this is the closest OE has come to actively offering the child care assistance needed to enable parents to participate in an agency program.

Spending program funds for child care is not a new idea. Most of the Federal poverty-oriented training programs--including WIN, Job Corps, JOBS, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Public Service Careers, and the Concentrated Employment Program--permit grantees to pay for trainee child care.

We urge that OE permit local projects to use program funds to help needy parents shoulder child care costs on a sliding income scale, either by providing child care services or through payments for such services. Although we don't expect this option would be used widely, it would permit program staff to use funds for that purpose should the need arise.

Serving School-Aged Parents. OE's efforts on behalf of these young people have had several shortcomings. First, special projects funded by OE often segregate pregnant students in special classes, whether or not they prefer regular classroom instruction. Second, in the program with the biggest stake in keeping school-aged mothers in school, Dropout Prevention, only three out of 21 projects have components serving pregnant students. Third, except for these three projects, OE has not supported interagency efforts to focus HEW resources on school-aged parents by setting aside discretionary funds for that purpose. OE should assure that its initial commitment to serving these young people is carried out by identifying specific program resources to be used.

Part-time Study. Because OE and NIE programs mirror existing practices in recipient institutions and because program administrators may not appreciate the demand for part-time study, projects we assist usually conform to traditional full-time education patterns. OE-and NIE-funded vocational and graduate education programs are mainly full-time.

OE and NIE can use their service and training programs as leverage to expand part-time opportunities throughout the education system by requiring that all such projects make provision for part-time students.

Recent changes in student aid legislation may make it easier for women to secure an equal share of Federal student financial aid. P.L. 92-318 opened all student aid programs to students attending school at least half-time. If this authority is used, it could benefit women with children who seek higher education on a part-time basis. Student aid officers may be reluctant to aid part-time students, however, and OE should encourage these officers to make full use of the new authority.

Accommodating Other Programs to the Special Needs of Women. OE and NIE should identify women wishing to continue education or training as a special target group in programs currently serving adults: not only in adult education, but also in personnel training, manpower training and postsecondary education programs. Women with family responsibilities have been largely excluded from these programs, and only a visible emphasis on projects serving their needs is likely to produce different results.

Two new program authorities are particularly well suited to reaching this population. P.L. 92-318 authorized the creation of Educational Opportunity Centers serving low-income areas, to provide information on student financial aid, help in applying to institutions of postsecondary education, counseling and tutorial services. For women cut off from the usual sources of information and advice on student aid opportunities, these centers could be an invaluable source of information. The same law also authorizes a ten percent discretionary set-aside of the HEA Title I Community Service and Continuing Education Program for special projects exploring solutions to problems of social change. These funds should be targeted on developing model programs for women returning to education and work.

The Office of Public Affairs program for disseminating information to the public on priority education issues could be extremely useful in reaching women in the home with relevant information on education and training. For example, OPA has been distributing "25 Technical Careers You Can Learn in 2 Years or Less" as part of a career education effort. The Office can use similar techniques to reach women--with information, for instance, about student aid and about exploring the types of occupations now opening up to women. The Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor has put out an excellent series of pamphlets designed to do just that ("Why not be an Engineer?"); such materials could be used in an OE information campaign aimed particularly at younger women.

Finally, experimentation with entirely new approaches to education responsive to life styles of women raising families is sorely needed. The home/community-based career education model is one step; others are needed to meet the needs of women getting an academic education of various kinds. The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, NIE, and OE have complementary responsibilities for fostering major educational change. They should be working together to see that education begins to serve the long neglected population of women who want both a family and more education.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Child Care and Serving School-Aged Parents*

18. *We recommend that OE, NIE encourage educational institutions to provide opportunities for parents raising children to pursue their education. Specifically, we recommend that:*

    a. *Day care be made an allowable cost in all programs (including construction programs) serving people of child-bearing age. OE should recommend new legislation where program guidelines cannot accomplish this.*

    b. *OE set aside at least two million dollars from discretionary monies for projects to support the work of the Interagency Task Force on Comprehensive Programs for School-Aged Parents.*

### *Part-Time Study*

19. *We recommend that OE and NIE promote part-time study opportunities for women returning to education. Specifically, we recommend that:*

    a. *OE and NIE insure that part-time students are admitted to projects funded under postsecondary and other programs serving adults. OE should recommend legislation to accomplish this where it cannot be achieved through guideline changes.*

b. Student aid program guidelines urge institutions to make Federal financial aid available to half-time students in proportion to their enrollment in the student body.

## Accommodating Other Programs to the Special Needs of Women

20. We recommend that OE and NIE guidelines for programs aimed at adults state that projects serving women wishing to continue their education be given special consideration. In addition, the Educational Opportunity Centers established under P.L. 92-318 should identify this population as a special target group, and Title I of the Higher Education Act should use its discretionary set-aside to fund model programs serving this group.

21. We recommend that the Office of Public Affairs undertake a public service information campaign publicizing new opportunities for women in education through radio and television spots as well as through printed materials. For example, we suggest that:

    a. OE make use of the excellent materials already developed by the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor to encourage young women to enter male-dominated professions, and cooperate with the Women's Bureau in developing new materials.

    b. OE direct information on student financial aid to women in the home who plan to return to education or employment training after several years' absence.

22. We recommend that OE, NIE and The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education experiment with new educational approaches with a potential for expanding opportunities for women in both academic and vocational education.

## BUILDING OUR STORE OF KNOWLEDGE ON WOMEN IN EDUCATION

At the national level, OE and NIE bear chief responsibility for building our store of knowledge about women in education in the United States. Between them, the two agencies should be gathering national statistics on the status of women as students and employees in the education system, evaluating the impact of OE and NIE programs on women and supporting research on sex role development and sex discrimination.

Collection and dissemination of educational statistics have been part of OE's basic mandate since its creation in 1867. With the enactment of the Cooperative Research Act, OE also took on responsibility for supporting research and development in education. This year OE turned responsibility for educational research and development over to the National Institute of Education.

### Collecting Information

With respect to collecting information on women, OE has not fulfilled its oldest mandate. Despite growing concern about sex discrimination, information comparing the status of men and women in education is still limited. Few national statistics have been collected to supplement piecemeal information on sex discrimination that has come to light in recent years. In addition, OE has gathered only scattered information on the status of women in its own programs.

Accurate information on women in education is essential to education policy makers and interested citizens in determining the extent and degree of sex discrimination supported by our educational institutions. In turn, agency officials will find it difficult to identify and overcome sex discrimination in their own programs without accurate information on their impact on women.

National Statistics. OE does collect a wealth of national statistics on education, most gathered by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES). Over the last year and a half, NCES has moved to collect more information comparing men and women, so that now 25 out of 55 of their surveys collect data by sex.

While it is encouraging that NCES is beginning to recognize the need to increase its store of data by sex, these efforts will not satisfy the need for information on women in education. Data on the salary, education and employment histories of staff in elementary and secondary schools need to be collected by sex, as well as information on the number of single sex vocational schools. These are just two examples: information on comparing the participation of males and females throughout the education system is needed to improve our ability to assess progress toward equality for women.

Adding new sex breakdowns to current surveys will cost money and demand more effort from our educational institutions. However, this is a small price for information which is essential to solving basic inequalities between the sexes.

Program Data. OE and NIE do not systematically collect statistics on the impact of their programs on men and women. Many programs collect no data on the number of participants by sex, even in areas where sex biases may be expected, such as in several of our vocational education programs.

In addition, programs which accept applications from individuals, such as fellowship and student aid programs, collect no data on the number of applicants by sex. Nor do they record the amount of award by sex, despite the ETS finding that women do receive smaller awards under student aid programs.

Information on women in the administration of project grant programs is even harder to come by; programs rarely have data on project staff below the level of project director by sex. In fact, a sex breakdown on project directors themselves can only be obtained by counting male and female names, a highly unscientific method. The situation is similar in State grant programs: usually only the State program coordinator's name is known; data on the proportion of females on the State staff are not collected.

## Evaluation

Besides collecting basic statistics on women in agency programs, OE and NIE should begin to use formal evaluations to assess program impact on women. Many of OE's evaluations do collect data by sex, since evaluators expect programs to have different effects for male and female participants.

However, when evaluators find differences in a program's effect on males and females, they do not explore the reasons and can offer no advice to administrators on changing the program to balance its effect on the sexes.

This fall, the Office of Education and the Department of Labor are cooperating on an evaluation of MDTA training programs on women. The study is designed to examine the effectiveness of MDTA in preparing women for entry and re-entry jobs in the labor market. It will serve as a model of the thorough evaluations we should be funding on the effectiveness of OE programs in meeting women's needs. It will analyze sex stereotyping in the training courses, obstacles to equal opportunities for women and means of expanding opportunities for women in the program.

Similar studies on other OE programs would be extremely helpful. We would particularly encourage the Office of Planning, Budgeting and Evaluation (OPBE) to fund follow-up and longitudinal studies showing the long-range impact of programs on women and men.

## Research Studies

On the whole, OE has supported little research shedding new light on problems of inequality between the sexes. Studies have been funded more by accident than conscious policy. A few researchers have requested funds for small studies and have been funded, but OE has made no effort to assess the need for research in this area and to see that it gets done.

The one major study to date was funded by the Office of the Secretary but administered by OE: a study on "Barriers to Women's Participation in Postsecondary Education." Still in the pilot phase, the study has run into a number of difficulties and has been delayed a year. Unfortunately, the present study design does not provide a control group of men, so that the study cannot produce information comparing the needs of men and women.

As we noted earlier, a great deal of research must be done to lay the solid groundwork for long-term progress towards equality for women. OE should build on the work already begun in the "barriers" study. We do suggest that a male control group be added and that OE undertake a similar study on the educational problems of women who are not high school graduates.

NIE must take the lead in focusing research resources on the problem of inequality between the sexes. In authorizing the new Institute's creation, Congress spelled out its foremost concern: providing "every person an equal opportunity to receive an education of high quality regardless of his race, color, religion, sex, national origin or social class."[16] As Congress recognized, unequal opportunity for women is among education's most serious problems. We urge NIE to heed its mandate to deal with the problem by undertaking a coordinated research and development effort aimed at improving opportunities for women. As part of that effort, NIE should be sure to explore the impact of schooling on sex-stereotyped career goals and the extent of sex bias in guidance testing.

## Reporting and Disseminating Information

Building our information store on women in education will have limited impact unless OE and NIE begin to report and disseminate that information much more effectively than they do now. OE does not report or disseminate the information it now has on women in useful form--either national education statistics or data on how women fare under OE programs. As a result, the information we do have is inaccessible both to education policy makers at all levels of government and to the concerned public.

Both national statistics and evaluation results comparing males and females, when collected, are scattered throughout long reports and difficult to find. Were OE to collect sex breakdowns on teaching staff at all levels in education, given the way statistics are reported now, one would need to refer to three separate reports to compare women's participation at all levels. The time lag between data collection and publication is another problem: the Office for Civil Rights has to collect its own statistics on minority enrollments in institutions at all levels since NCES could not guarantee to make data available the same year it is collected.

In only one area of reporting--ERIC, the information retrieval system for research reports and other education documents--has an attempt been made to report materials on women in a useful form. Several ERIC categories (descriptors) used to call up information apply to women, including a new one on women's studies. ERIC clearinghouses have compiled several bibliographies and research reviews concerned with women. The higher education clearinghouse has put out a report on women's rights on the campus; the clearinghouse on the disadvantaged just released a bibliography on women's educational and career roles. These efforts will be most helpful and we urge ERIC staff in NIE to press clearinghouses to produce more of the same.

To improve reporting and dissemination of existing information on men and women in education, we urge several steps. NCES should begin to publish comparative statistics on the sexes as separate reports; it should also devote special sections of its larger reports to data by sex. Program and evaluation data on women in OE programs should be highlighted in separate sections of program and evaluation reports. Finally, NIE's dissemination staff should make women and sex bias a major focus of the targeted communications program, which summarizes research on a subject for wide distribution within the education community.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *National Statistics*

23. *We recommend that NCES amend its present surveys to collect the following data by sex:*

    a. *A breakdown by sex for elementary school pupils in each grade, to be added to the ELSEGIS State Fall Report on Staff and Pupils.*

    b. *Secondary school subject area enrollments by sex, to be added to the ELSEGIS Survey of Secondary School Offerings, Enrollments and Curriculum Practices 1972-73.*

c. *All data on elementary school principals and on the number of specialists by sex, to be collected in the Belmont Elementary School Survey. This survey's questionnaire on teacher characteristics is thorough and should be used as a model for collecting information isolating sex as a variable.*

NOTE: Data by sex in characteristics of all school staff are needed to determine whether women remain at lower positions with lower pay despite equivalent or better qualifications than the male staff.

d. *Secondary school staff and principal data by sex, to be collected in the Belmont Secondary School Survey. We urge that the staff and school questionnaires be expanded to collect by sex the same information as the Elementary School Survey collects on elementary school staff (e.g., salary, years of teaching experience, degrees earned, etc.).*

NOTE: No data on characteristics of teaching or administrative staff in secondary schools are currently collected at all, much less by sex, so that OE has no information on the status of women in secondary schools.

e. *The number and salary distribution by sex of tenured higher education faculty, to be added to the HEGIS Employees in Higher Education survey. In addition, NCES should make an effort to provide HEGIS salary data to OCR in a timely fashion for use in enforcing Title IX and Executive Order 11246.*

f. *The age distribution for men and women by field and degree conferred, to be added to the HEGIS Earned Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred survey.*

NOTE: Such data would indicate the extent to which men and women interrupt their education and at what age, and will provide an estimate of the length of interruption by level and academic field.

g. *Enrollment data for adult and continuing education by sex to be collected in the Adult and Continuing Education in Institutions of Higher Education survey.*

h. *All data on adult basic education staff and participants to be collected in the Adult Basic Education survey (based on the annual reports submitted by States).*

i. *Vocational education enrollment data by sex for each institution to be collected in the Vocational Education Directories.*

NOTE: These data would indicate what types of vocational schools (including area vocational schools) operate as single sex institutions.

j. *Data by sex on library staff by level to be collected in the library and museum surveys (Public Library Survey, Federal Library Survey, Museum Survey and School Library Survey).*

### *Program Data*

24. *We recommend that OE and NIE collect and report to the public basic data on all programs by sex. Specifically, we recommend that:*

a. *Programs serving a student clientele collect program participant data by sex.*

b. *Discretionary programs collect and update information on sex and salary of top project staff quarterly.*

NOTE: All staff information could be collected by the PGIS system, on the procurement cover sheet (PCS). No commitment action should be made until all information is entered.

c. *All programs prepare descriptive summaries of projects designed to improve educational opportunities for women.*

d. *Fellowship and training programs collect data on the number of applicants by sex.*

e. *The student financial aid programs should collect data on the amount of aid and number of grants by sex. In addition, data by sex on the guaranteed loan* *program should include the number and amount of loans recommended by student financial aid officers.*

> NOTE: Under P.L. 92-318, student financial aid officers for the first time must certify the amount of a student's financial need before a bank can make a guaranteed loan.

*Evaluation*

25. *We recommend that all OE-and NIE-sponsored evaluations include analyses of the presence, causes and impact of sex discrimination in each of the program or educational areas being studied. For many program areas, particularly fellowship and training programs, expanded follow-up studies of participants by sex will be required.*

*Research Studies*

26. *We recommend that OE and NIE support a series of studies on sex role development and sex discrimination in education. Specifically, we recommend that:*

    a. *NIE review existing research on the development of sex roles and self image and support a series of research and development efforts designed to fill the gaps in current knowledge of this topic.*

    b. *OE or NIE support a study on how the attitudes of counselors, teachers, administrators, parents and peers affect career plans and expectations of women and men, with a separate analysis of sexism in guidance tests.*

    c. *The full-scale study resulting from the pilot study, Barriers to Women's Participation in Postsecondary Education, be broadened to include a representative sample of males as a comparison group.*

    d. *OE support a study of the barriers female and male non-high school graduates face in acquiring additional education and training.*

## Reporting and Disseminating Information

27. We recommend that OE and NIE expand efforts to report and disseminate information on women in education. Specifically, we recommend that:

    a. NCES publish, at least annually, special mini-reports and projections on the relative status of women and men in education, both as students and employees. In addition, NCES' regular reports should include separate chapters comparing data on men and women.

    b. Program data appearing in annual reports include participant data by sex.

    c. OPBE and its equivalent in NIE include in their evaluation and planning studies special sections on the impact of programs on the sexes.

## PUTTING OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER

The recommendations found in the preceeding pages touch upon some one hundred OE-and NIE-administered programs. These cannot be implemented effectively, nor can a long-term commitment to equal opportunity for women be sustained without some important management adjustments in OE and NIE. Lasting changes are unlikely unless:

-- agency heads make it clear to staff that educational equality for women has priority status and that funds will be commited to fostering it.

-- program staff themselves are educated about sex discrimination.

-- a permanent women's office staff monitors changes and explores new strategies.

-- women and men share equally in agency decision making.

### Equality for Women as a Priority

Equality for women in education should be identified as a priority at the Assistant Secretary or Commissioner/Director level, with recommended action steps carried out through the Operational Planning System or its equivalent at NIE.

Putting equal opportunities "up front" as an agency priority is the key to the Assistant Secretary's leadership. As a major civil rights issue affecting over half our population, equal opportunity for women is as pressing and important as current agency priorities.

Throughout the agencies, the task force found little understanding of the educational inequalities women face and limited awareness of the Assistant Secretary's concern. Since program officials do respond to top-level priorities, a forceful mandate from the Assistant Secretary and from the agency heads is essential. Unless equal opportunity for women is made a priority, neither agency is likely to sustain major changes. In addition, several programs that could contribute (e.g., public affairs and targeted communications) deal only with priority areas.

Through OE's Operational Planning System, the Deputy Commissioners specify and report on steps to implement goals reflecting the Commissioner's priorities. Presumably, NIE will develop its own system for tracking objectives. Given the number and extent of changes we believe OE and NIE should make, a formal system is needed to articulate and track objectives concerning equal opportunity for women.

It is unlikely that a significant amount of resources will be devoted to projects aimed at improving opportunities for women without specific commitments by the Commissioner and the Director of NIE. Specific program funds should be targeted on advancing women in educational administration; on developing unbiased curriculum and guidance materials; on breaking down occupational stereotypes; and on building opportunities for those returning to school or work. Since Title IX of P.L. 92-318 amended Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, funds should also assist sex-segregated schools in desegregating.

OE and NIE should not simply fund projects offering special services to women; they should focus program resources on projects exerting leverage for change in the way the education system itself treats women. Basically, women suffer unequal treatment in education--not through some fault of their own--but because of discrimination and inflexibilities within our system of education. Projects addressing that problem directly will be the most significant ones in the long run, and program staff should consider that when deciding how agency funds can best serve women.

We decided against recommending specific legislation such as the "Women's Education Act" (H.R. 14451), which authorizes funds for research and demonstrations, curriculum development, tests, guidance programs, teacher training and so on. All of these activities are badly needed, but could be supported under existing legislation. HEW should take the initiative on this issue, rather than wait for a specific authorization. If, in the end, HEW does not commit existing resources to promote educational equality for women, women's rights organizations will be justified in pushing for legislation to accomplish this.

## Staff Education

"I've spent a lot of time in universities and I know there isn't any discrimination there." If our conversations with program staff indicate prevailing attitudes, OE and NIE staff are generally unaware of sex discrimination in education. Few people knew about Title IX and few knew that Federal contractors are forbidden to discriminate in employment.

Although sex discrimination in education has only recently attracted attention, OE and NIE can no longer afford to be ignorant or unconcerned. Sex discrimination in education is virtually universal and deeply entrenched. Now it is also illegal. Agency personnel must understand both the nature and effects of sex discrimination and their responsibilities under the antidiscrimination laws. They should also understand that personal prejudices against women may influence program decisions.

## Women's Action Office and Advisors

The Commissioner and NIE's Director will need a continuing assessment of each agency's progress toward equal opportunities for women as well as advice on necessary next steps to follow. The OE Federal Women's Program Coordinator shoulders some responsibility for OE programs, but as the equal employment officer for women, she must devote most of her energies to internal employment problems. She has not been given the staff she needs to do that job in depth, much less take an active role in program policies affecting women.

OE and NIE should each establish an office to oversee efforts to secure opportunity for women within the agencies and in education at large. These offices must have the responsibility, the authority and sufficient staff to do the job. They must also be concerned with sex biases in agency employment, since internal discriminatory practices affect program policy decisions. These offices should also function as a clearinghouse on discrimination against women.

To supplement the work of the Women's Action Office, each deputyship in OE and equivalent unit in NIE should have its own Advisors. Since the Women's Action Office would provide a strong and active focus for women's equality, it will need continuing sources of information and assistance on employment and program developments throughout the agency. The units in OE and NIE will also need easily accessible advice and assistance to help them define and assume their specific responsibilities to women. Women's Action Advisors, representing all grades and the various minorities, would serve both functions.

## Women and Educational Policy Making

Our mandate has been to define the impact of our programs on women outside the agency. We have not studied the effects of OE and NIE employment practices on women, nor do we feel qualified to make specific recommendations.

However, decision making in the Division of Education is thoroughly dominated by men: with rare exceptions, line decision-makers from Assistant Secretary to branch chief are men. While one does not have to be female to care about equality for women, an agency essentially run by men cannot be expected to demonstrate sensitivity in assuring equity for women in its programs. The agency's effectiveness in promoting opportunities for women throughout education will be undermined if it does not begin to practice what it preaches.

Office of Education Policy Makers. While the average grade for women in the Office of Education is GS-7, the average grade for men is a whopping GS-14. Women in OE are:

-- 54 percent of the employees;
-- 18.8 percent of those in GS-13 to GS-15; and
-- 5.7 percent of those in GS-16 to GS-18.

The following table indicates the disparities:

Office of Education Full-Time Professional Staff, Grades 13-18
October 30, 1972

| Grade | Total | No. of Men | No. of Women | Percentage of Women |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 17 | 13 | 11 | 2 | 15 |
| 16 | 35 | 34 | 1 | 3 |
| 15 | 276 | 253 | 23 | 8 |
| 14 | 474 | 387 | 87 | 18 |
| 13 | 417 | 307 | 110 | 26 |

Nor has the situation improved over the last few years. Over a year ago, another OE task force reported on employment biases against women--tangible gains have not followed. A few women have been brought in to head small program or staff offices, yet dozens of extremely competent mid-level women continue to be passed over for supervisory and decision-making positions.

Affirmative action goals for women have been set so low that they do not even compensate for normal attrition. In the face of a goal to add 18 women to grades 13-15, the record shows a net loss of six women in these grades between July 1, 1971 and September 30, 1972.[17] Even if there were no attrition and the agency hired only women in GS 13-15, at the rate of 18 additional women a year it would still take 40 years to bring women to one-half the employees in these grades.

The affirmative action system has no teeth--supervisors are not held accountable for progress in equal employment. Most selecting officers go through the motions of the merit promotion procedures: women are frequently candidates for senior-level jobs, but rarely the final choice.

Tight budgets and hiring freezes notwithstanding, the agency has hired from the outside. Men continue to be hired at higher levels than women. For example, 11 senior-level professionals were hired in a 4-month period this year: 7 men, 4 women. All the women were hired at GS-13, lowest step; three of the men were hired at GS-14 and GS-15; a fourth at GS-13, step 8; and the other three were GS-13, step 1.

National Institute of Education Policy Makers. Proportions of women in senior levels are no better at the National Institute of Education.

National Institute of Education Full-Time Professional Staff, Grades 13-15
October 30, 1972

| Grade | Total | No. of Men | No. of Women | Percentage of Women |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | 20 | 19 | 1 | 5 |
| 14 | 23 | 21 | 2 | 9 |
| 13 | 26 | 12 | 14 | 55 |

NOTE: As of October 30, 1972, no supergrades were on board as regular NIE employees.

All of the five supergrade employees (GS-16 to GS-18) detailed to NIE as of October 30 were male. As this report is completed, NIE is staffing up to full operation. The Institute has its best opportunity right now to right an already serious imbalance in decision-making positions. If hiring continues to favor men at the top levels, however, a bias against women will be built into the structure for some time to come.

Special Policy Positions. For special policy positions--on advisory councils, task forces and review panels--the Office of Education's record is just as poor. OE has 22 advisory committees with a total of 355 authorized positions. As of October 30, 1972, only 58 (28.4 percent) of 204 current appointees are women. For the 16 councils appointed by the Secretary, membership overall is 30.7 percent female. For councils appointed by the President, women are only 25 percent of the members. Although HEW has set council goals for women, recent appointments continue to show the same imbalances.

The record of participation by women on internal agency task forces is no better. Few are chaired by women. In the Bureau of Higher Education, for example, only 2 of the 10 new task forces created in the early summer of 1972 were chaired by women. Of 64 participants appointed in June, only 10 were women.

Field readers play a major role in program decisions, since they review and assess project proposals. Of 52 programs which reported using field readers, in only 15 were women at least 25 percent of any review panel. This is particularly inexcusable in areas of education where women are plentiful. The selection process for field readers and consultants may explain the imbalances: widespread use of personal contacts among the predominantly male staff and informal advice from male-dominated professional associations precludes an even chance for women.

Another form of discrimination among these people is in pay. While field readers receive a standard fee for their work, consultant compensation is flexible and compounds the effects of past employment discrimination for many women. Since consultant fees are often gauged to past salary and title, women who have been denied equal advancement opportunities are paid less than men whose professional lives bear no such handicap.

Women are a majority of the general population and 40 percent of the working population. Increasing numbers of women with lifelong occupational aspirations are entering the work force as professionals. Yet in the education agencies, decision-making continues to be monopolized by men; women generally stop advancing at GS-12 or GS-13.

The Office of Education and the National Institute of Education have the opportunity to exert leadership in affording women an equal chance--through their influence, through their initiatives and through their programs. They must begin, however, by putting their own houses in order.

RECOMMENDATIONS

## Equality for Women as a Priority

28. We recommend that equality for the sexes in education be declared an official priority of both OE and NIE. In line with that priority, we recommend that:

    a. Implementation of recommendations be tracked through the Operational Planning System at the Assistant Secretary or Commissioner/Director level.

    b. At least 10 percent of the appropriations for the following programs be spent on projects which make a special contribution to equal educational opportunity for women:

    Education Professions Development Act, Parts D, E and F
    Education for the Handicapped Act, Part D

    Funds could be used in projects which advance women in school administration, train teachers to avoid sex bias, train administrators on implementing Title IX and train teacher trainers to sensitize teachers to sex bias.

    Higher Education Act, Title II

    Funds could be used in projects which advance women in library administration, support workshops on unsexbiased materials and assist librarians in building collections relating to women's rights and women's issues.

    Vocational Education Act, Parts C, D and I

    Funds could be used in projects which study the obstacles to women's full participation in all areas of vocational education, demonstrate approaches to breaking down sex stereotypes in vocational education and develop curriculum materials which counteract career sex stereotypes.

    Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education

    Funds could be used for experiments with new forms of education with a potential for expanding opportunities for women returning to education and training after several years' absence.

Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV

Funds would be used to assist sex-segregated schools in desegregation.

## Staff Education

29. We recommend that OE and NIE undertake to educate their own staffs to avoid sex bias in agency operation and program management. Specifically, we recommend that:

    a. Briefings for all supervisory staff be conducted on the implications of Title IX and other sex discrimination legislation for OE's and NIE's program operations.

    b. OE and NIE arrange for training programs to create employee awareness of sex biases and their influences on the actions of employees.

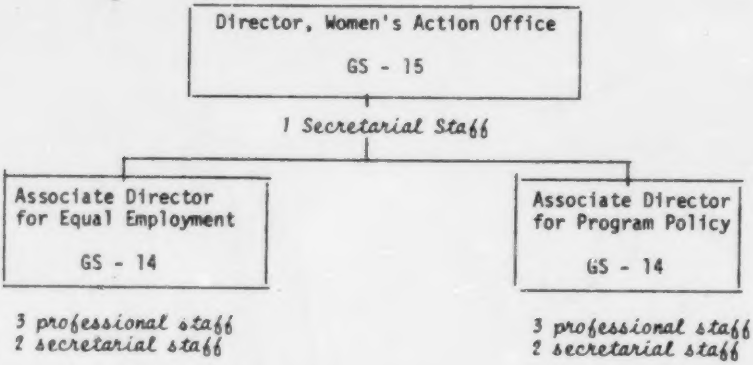
## Women's Action Office and Advisors

30. We recommend that both OE and NIE establish a Women's Action Office to see that steps to improve the status of women both inside and outside the agency are carried out smoothly and expeditiously. Specifically, we recommend that:

    a. These offices serve as a continuing source of advice to the Commissioner and the Director on progress towards that goal and on new steps needed to help women secure equality in education and in the Federal education agencies.

    b. These offices report directly to the Assistant Commissioner for Special Concerns and an official of equivalent stature in NIE and absorb the functions of the Federal Women's Program Coordinator.

c. *The following organization for the Women's Action Office be developed:*


Director, Women's Action Office
GS - 15
1 Secretarial Staff
Associate Director for Equal Employment
GS - 14
3 professional staff
2 secretarial staff
Associate Director for Program Policy
GS - 14
3 professional staff
2 secretarial staff

*NIE would have a smaller staff consonant with the agency's present size.*

31. *We recommend that both OE and NIE convene an ad hoc committee by advertising for people interested in helping in the selection of the Director and Associate Directors of the Women's Action Offices. These ad hoc committees would be no more than 15 members, elected from among the original volunteers. These committees would draw up criteria for the selection of the Director and the Associate Directors and identify and recommend candidates to fill those positions. Upon final selection of candidates by the OE Commissioner and NIE Director, the responsibilities of the ad hoc committees would terminate.*

32. *We recommend that Women's Action Advisors be designated throughout the agencies to link program policies and employees with the work of the Women's Action Office. Specifically, we recommend that:*

    a. *On a continuing basis, Advisors work with the Women's Action Office in carrying out their mission throughout the agencies by recommending priorities for action, reviewing program and employment activities affecting women and keeping communication channels open between program officials and the Women's Action Office.*

    b. *Advisors be designated by the Directors of the respective Women's Action Offices.*

c. Advisors be regular employees, released part-time from their regular duties.

d. Each OE Deputyship and equivalent in NIE have at least two Advisors, one for internal employment and one for programs. OE should have one Advisor concerned with employment for every 200 people in a deputyship, with the Office of the Commissioner combined with the Deputyship for Development. OE should have one Advisor concerned with program policy for every 200 people in the three program Deputyships and one Advisor for the two staff Deputyships. According to OE's current staffing, that would make a total of 24; NIE Advisors would be chosen in a comparable manner.

## Special Policy Positions

33. We recommend that OE and NIE substantially increase the proportion of women advising on the operation of OE programs. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. All NIE and OE recommendations for advisory councils and special commissions aim to bring the proportion of women on each to 50 percent.

b. The same goal be set for the appointment of women to program review panels, outside evaluation teams, technical assistance personnel and consultants. Bureau chiefs should be responsible for approving these appointments to see that goals are being met. In addition, OE and NIE should adopt a standard fee for compensating consultants, regardless of salary, experience or other considerations.

c. Task forces be approximately 50 percent female. OE and NIE staff should avoid defining criteria for task force membership so that a predominance of men must be chosen. Bureau chiefs and Deputies should review and approve task force membership to see that goals are being met.

d. Bureau chiefs and Deputies report quarterly to the Commissioner of Education and to the Director of NIE on the male/female makeup of all review panels, outside evaluation teams, technical assistants, consultants and task forces.

# CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE OFFICE OF CIVIL RIGHTS

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OCT 2 4 1973

Honorable Walter F. Mondale
Subcommittee on Education
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
Room 4230 - New Senate Office Building
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

I am writing in regard to the hearing of October 17 conducted by the Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, at which you presided.

The hearing was held to receive testimony on S. 2518, the proposed Women's Educational Equity Act.

During the course of the hearing certain questions arose relating to activities and staffing of the Office for Civil Rights, and I would like to comment on them for the record.

First, two witnesses referred to the fact that the Departmental regulation applicable to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 has not yet been published for public comment. This is regrettable. However, I should point out that to define in clear and specific terms the obligations conferred by Title IX in areas such as athletics and the whole spectrum of employment rights, in elementary and secondary as well as higher education, has not been a simple undertaking.

During the process of drafting the regulation, OCR has made special efforts to confer on a continuous basis with representatives of women's organizations and of the education community. A final draft is now being circulated for comment to other departmental agencies preparatory to submission to the Secretary. By statute, the regulation must have the President's approval prior to publication for public comment in the Federal Register.

During this interim period, OCR has sent memoranda to public school superintendents, State agency officials, vocational schools, and presidents of higher education institutions broadly outlining the non-discrimination requirements of Title IX. This material was submitted earlier to Subcommittee staff; additional copies are enclosed herewith.

Second, one witness before the Subcommittee indicated that "HEW takes the position that they cannot enforce the law (Title IX) until the guidelines are written..."

OCR has received numerous complaints of sex discrimination involving elementary and secondary schools as well as colleges and universities covered by Title IX. When action can be taken on the issues raised by these allegations in the absence of the regulation, OCR is proceeding to investigate Title IX complaints to the extent resources and other commitments permit.

The Higher Education Division reported to me that 31 Title IX complaints involving higher education institutions were filed as of July 31. There may be additional complaints received more recently by regional offices. The 31 complaints can be broken down as follows:

10 complaints involving admissions to an institution or to programs within institutions;

3 complaints involving discrimination in athletic programs and/or use of athletic facilities;

4 complaints involving differential dormitory regulations;

2 complaints involving disparate residency requirements for the purpose of granting in-state tuition;

1 complaint concerning differential regulations with regard to hair length;

3 complaints concerning employment, one of which involves 7 institutions;

4 complaints concerning membership in institution supported organizations, one of which involves 25 institutions;

1 complaint involving discrimination against a student by the faculty of a graduate department;

1 complaint involving discrimination in financial aid;

2 complaints concerning discrimination in student health insurance, particularly with regard to pregnancy benefits.

Some of these complaints have been investigated and others are under investigation. In a number of cases, a review of the complaint has been postponed pending publication of the regulation. Examples of cases where action has been taken are: complaints against George Mason University and the University of Georgia System were resolved in favor of complainants with the determination that disparate residency requirements based on sex for the purpose of granting in-state tuition are prohibited under Title IX. Complaints against Louisiana State University and against the University of Missouri at Columbia alleging differential dormitory regulations based on sex were resolved in favor of the complainants. OCR is investigating a complaint against Harvard Law School alleging discrimination in admissions. We are also investigating a complaint against Cal State University at Northridge alleging sex discrimination in the admission to a school program.

With respect to Title IX complaints filed against school districts, we contacted eight of our ten regional offices by telephone yesterday for a status report. A total of 97 Title IX complaints have been received, of which 57 have been acted on. That is, 57 complaints have been reviewed and resolved or are under review at this time. In some cases, the review has entailed on-site visits.

For instance, the Philadelphia Regional Office conducted an on-site investigation of a complaint alleging sex discrimination in the athletic program of Pittsburgh secondary schools.

Another complaint acted on involved the alleged exclusion of female students from shop courses in Loudoun County, Virginia. The Dallas Regional Office has received approximately 20 individual complaints alleging Title IX violations. One complaint was filed by the Dallas Women's Coalition against the Dallas Independent School District, claiming that the district's plan to correct certain identifiable practices involving alleged sex discrimination was inadequate. At the request of the school district, the Dallas Regional Office is currently evaluating the plan. WEAL has filed a well-documented complaint against the Waco Independent School District, alleging Title IX violations in athletics, employment, and curriculum. This complaint was mentioned by Ms. Arronne Fraser during her testimony before the Subcommittee and it will be scheduled for review in November.

It is true that for the most part, in the absence of the regulation, OCR has confined its field compliance activity to date to the review of complaints. And, as indicated earlier, some of the complaints pose issues which can only be dealt with after pertinent and specific requirements are formally agreed to and finalized in the regulation. But it is incorrect to assert that no enforcement activity has taken place.

Third, you indicated that it would be helpful for the Subcommittee to receive a breakdown of the number of persons employed by OCR who are working on sex discrimination matters.

I am enclosing a chart showing a breakdown of the 124 persons assigned to the Higher Education Division of OCR. 81 of these persons are assigned to Executive Order 11246, as amended, which bars employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin at colleges and universities holding Federal contracts. Under the OCR budget, 18 persons are allocated to Title IX, and 25 persons to Title VI. In carrying out compliance activity under the Executive Order, personnel are concerned with investigating class action complaints and reviewing affirmative action plans with respect to problems of race and ethnic discrimination as well as sex discrimination. For instance, in negotiating with a university on the preparation of an acceptable affirmative action plan, OCR personnel will deal with issues of both race and sex discrimination insofar as the plan is based on or encompasses utilization analyses, recruitment policies, and goals and timetables. The 124 persons represent clerical and professional staff, and regional and headquarters personnel. The Administration's FY 75 budget for OCR proposes an increase of 50 persons for Executive Order enforcement.

A total of 252 clerical and professional positions are assigned to the Elementary and Secondary Education Division for FY 73. Of the 52 persons assigned to headquarters, six are working on Title IX matters. A number of compliance persons in each of the 10 regional offices has handled

Title IX issues and complaints, although not exclusively. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the civil rights-related provisions of the Emergency School Aid Act, remain the dominant concern and undoubtedly this pattern will continue at least until the Title IX regulation is published. The Administration's FY 74 budget provides for 30 additional positions for this division and, if and when the budget is approved, many of the new personnel will deal with Title IX compliance issues.

Fourth, a witness before the Subcommittee indicated that there had been no results from OCR's compliance activity under the Executive Order.

I am enclosing a breakdown on the disposition of individual Executive Order complaints in the higher education area and other information concerning compliance reviews. A year ago, OCR issued "Higher Education Guidelines under Executive Order 11246" to help clarify the application of Department of Labor regulations to university employment. A copy is enclosed. OCR is proceeding vigorously to improve internal review procedures, develop a strong technical assistance capability, and evaluate affirmative action plans. Just recently, OCR accepted a plan submitted by M.I.T. and we are currently reviewing a promising plan submitted by Harvard University on the basis of lengthy discussions and negotiations. Moreover, Executive Order complaints and reviews involve issues other than employment *per se*. For instance, OCR has helped to bring about pay equity adjustments in numerous cases. Examples are: pursuant to negotiations carried out with the University of Michigan, the institution has thus far granted equity adjustments to 237 academic and non-academic female employees totaling $187,728 as part of its affirmative action obligation. This month, the Denver Regional Office for Civil Rights negotiated a pay settlement with the University of Montana which granted salary increases to 39 women faculty members totaling $88,000 in order to make their pay equal to that of their male counterparts.

To be sure, we are dealing with complex and sensitive issues and undoubtedly we have made our share of mistakes. But there has been progress.

During the hearing, mention was made of the forthcoming report by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. This report puts the Commission behind the OCR "Guidelines" and urges colleges and universities to undertake the steps necessary to design and implement affirmative action plans. While we would take issue with some of the Commission's observations in the chapter dealing with affirmative action, we believe this section would help clarify the historical record.

Fifth, OCR shares the concern expressed by witnesses with respect to the effects of sex role stereotyping in textbooks. We are also concerned about practices that tend to deny or limit the opportunity of girls and women to take full advantage of the educational curriculum. There is no question but that a public school curriculum must be open to all students without regard to sex and student counseling must be consistent with this policy. We also emphasize that Title IX applies to the employment practices of school districts. The shockingly low percentage of female administrators at this educational level is of equal concern.

I am enclosing copies of the 1973 OCR school district survey forms inasmuch as they include questions relevant to Title IX. You will note that on the individual school campus report, school districts are being asked to report on classes or groupings comprised of 80% or more of students of one sex. On the joint EEOC-OCR employment form, public school systems must furnish various data on the sex composition of teaching and administrative staff. When the results are obtained, the information will be used in conducting school district reviews and will help to set review priorities.

I should also mention that OCR is currently designing a survey covering area vocational-technical schools which will provide a breakout of the sex composition of such schools and of the courses offered by such schools. There are approximately 1900 area vocational-technical schools in the country; witnesses before the Subcommittee expressed particular concern about the identifiable patterns of enrollment in the curricula. In the event the survey form is approved, it should help to establish a firm factual basis on which to determine possible violations and compliance priorities in the vocational education area. The survey also seeks similar data relevant to compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

On October 30 OCR will meet with representatives of major textbook publishing firms to discuss the sex stereotyping issue. As of now we believe that in order to realize corrective action on a broad scale, OCR must seek the cooperation of textbook publishers. We have pursued one complaint on this subject filed by the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination against the Kalamazoo Public Schools, Kalamazoo, Michigan. The pertinent correspondence is enclosed.

Finally, during a colloquy with Ms. Arvonne Fraser of WEAL, concerning the delay in preparing the Title IX regulations, you are recorded as follows: "I know they (the Office for Civil Rights) are not busy doing anything else."

I do not believe the record will support such a conclusion. Moreover, it is unfair to the hundreds of people employed by this office who have steadfastly and with dedication worked effectively to enforce Title VI and other nondiscrimination provisions of Federal law. Should you or your staff wish a briefing on current activities of the office, or further written information, we would be pleased to comply.

I request that this letter and enclosures be made part of the record of the hearing.

Sincerely yours,

Peter E. Holmes
Director
Office for Civil Rights

Enclosures

## HIGHER EDUCATION DIVISION
## E. O. 11246 Effort (Universities & Colleges)
## (November 16, 1971 - December 31, 1972)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total number of individual complaints | | 544 |
| Sex discrimination complaints | 355 | |
| Other complaints (race and national origin) | 189 | |

Status of complaint workload

| | |
|---|---|
| Cases on hand not investigated | 107 |
| Cases under investigation | 76 |
| Total on hand | 183 |
| Sex cases | 154 |
| Other cases | 29 |
| | 183 |

Actions taken 11/16/71 - 12/31/72

| | |
|---|---|
| Cases settled or closed | 224 |
| Cases transferred to EEOC | 137 |
| | 361 |

### HIGHER EDUCATION DIVISION, E.O. 11246 COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

| Regions | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VIII | IX | X | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Compliance reviews and class complaints: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Compliance reviews since Nov. 15, 1971 to Dec. 30, 1972 | 15 | 18 | 12 | 22 | 8 | 22 | 11 | 13 | 15 | 5 | 141 |
| AAP,s approved (interim or final) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 30 |
| AAP,s rejected | 0 | 13 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 5 | 11 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 51 |
| AAP,s pending | 15 | 17 | 3 | 6 | 24 | 9 | 0 | 21 | 17 | 4 | 116 |
| Class action compliance pending | 0 | 2 | 6 | 14 | 31 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 17 | 3 | 88 |
| Total complaints Nov. 16, 1971 to Dec. 30, 1972 | 39 | 47 | 43 | 114 | 167 | 30 | 15 | 15 | 53 | 21 | 544 |
| Sex | 25 | 36 | 37 | 36 | 112 | 24 | 12 | 10 | 46 | 17 | 355 |
| Race or other | 14 | 11 | 6 | 78 | 55 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 189 |
| No action | 0 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 76 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 7 | 107 |
| Under investigation | 3 | 16 | 5 | 21 | 16 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 76 |
| Cases settled | 16 | 6 | 30 | 66 | 54 | 19 | 1 | 4 | 19 | 9 | 214 |
| Transferred to EEOC | 20 | 11 | 7 | 26 | 21 | 9 | 14 | 3 | 23 | 3 | 137 |
| Complaints on hand Jan. 1, 1973 | 3 | 30 | 6 | 22 | 92 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 11 | 9 | 183 |
| Sex | 3 | 29 | 6 | 18 | 70 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 11 | 9 | 154 |
| Race or other | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 29 |

### HIGHER EDUCATION DIVISION—FISCAL YEAR 1973

| | Title VI | Title IX | Total authorized, title VI and title IX | EO 11246 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boston | | 1 | 4 | 6 | 7 |
| New York | 2 | 2 | 4 | 9 | 13 |
| Philadelphia | 2 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| Atlanta | 2 | 2 | 4 | 10 | 14 |
| Chicago | 2 | 2 | 4 | 9 | 13 |
| Dallas | 2 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 12 |
| Kansas City | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Denver | | 1 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| San Francisco | 3 | 2 | 5 | 9 | 14 |
| Seattle | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Subtotal | 14 | 15 | 29 | 66 | 95 |
| Headquarters | 11 | 3 | 14 | 15 | 29 |
| Total | 25 | 18 | = 43 | + 81 | = 124 |

### OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS—FISCAL YEARS 1969–74 BUDGET AND STRENGTH

| | Fiscal year— | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 |
| Budget | [1] $4, 808, 000 | [1] $6, 522, 000 | [1] $8, 906, 000 | [1] $11, 442, 000 | $14, 319, 000 | [2] $19, 196, 000 |
| Strength | 326 | 401 | 550 | 596 | 707 | 872 |

[1] Actual cost.
[2] Excludes pay raise amount.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

August 1972

## MEMORANDUM TO PRESIDENTS OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION PARTICIPATING IN FEDERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

As you may know, on June 23, 1972, the President signed into law the "Education Amendments of 1972" (effective July 1, 1972). Title IX of this Act prohibits sex discrimination in all federally assisted education programs and amends certain portions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Office for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is presently in the process of developing regulations and guidelines to implement Title IX. For your immediate information, however, I have set forth below a brief summary of the pertinent provisions of Title IX, and have attached a copy of the law.

A. Basic Provision: Title IX of the Higher Education Act states:

> "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal Financial assistance..."

This sex discrimination provision of Title IX is patterned after Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which forbids discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin in all federally assisted programs. By specific exemption, the prohibitions of Title VI do not reach employment practices (except where the primary objective of the Federal aid is to provide employment). However, there is no similar exemption for employment in Title IX.

Therefore, effective July 1, as a condition of receiving Federal assistance, your institution must make all benefits and services available to students without discrimination on the basis of sex. As indicated below, there are exemptions to and a deferment in implementing the admissions provision. However, all other requirements of this Title are presently in effect.

B. Which Institutions are Covered:

All educational programs and activities which are offered by any institution or organization and which receive Federal financial assistance by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty are covered. Title IX specifically lists the types of educational institutions which are covered. These include public and private preschools, elementary and secondary schools, institutions of vocational education, professional education, and undergraduate and graduate higher education.

C. Provisions Concerning Admissions to Schools and Colleges:

1. Certain educational institutions covered by Title IX are prohibited from sex discrimination in all of their programs and activities, including admissions to their institutions. These institutions include:

a. Institutions of vocational education (public and private).

b. Institutions of professional education (public and private).

c. Institutions of graduate higher education (public and private).

d. Public undergraduate institutions of higher education (except those which have been traditionally and continually single-sex).

2. Exemptions from the admissions provisions.

Some educational institutions covered under Title IX are exempted from complying with the prohibition against discrimination in admissions. These institutions are:

a. Private undergraduate institutions of higher education.

b. Elementary and secondary schools other than secondary vocational schools whose primary purpose is to train students in vocational and technical areas.

c. Public institutions of undergraduate higher education which have been traditionally and continually single-sex.

Schools of vocational, professional, graduate higher education, and public undergraduate higher education which are in transition from single-sex institutions to co-educational institutions are exempt from non-discrimination in admissions for specified periods of time provided each is carrying out a plan approved by HEW, under which the transition will be completed. Although all these institutions are exempt from the requirement of immediately admitting students of the previously excluded sex, they are required not to discriminate, as of the effective date of the Act (July 1, 1972), against any admitted students in any educational program or activity offered by the educational institutions.

D. Other Exemptions:

1. Religious Institutions: Institutions controlled by religious organizations are exempt if the application of the anti-discrimination provision is not consistent with the religious tenets of such organizations.

2. Military Schools: Those educational institutions whose primary purpose is the training of individuals for the military services of the United States or the Merchant Marine are exempt.

E. Provision Relating to Living Facilities: The Act allows institutions receiving Federal funds to maintain separate living facilities for persons of different sexes.

F. Who Enforces the Act: The Federal departments empowered to extend aid to educational institutions have the enforcement responsibility. (The enforcement provisions are virtually identical to those of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964). Reviews can be conducted whether or not a complaint has been filed. We presently are in the process of developing procedures under which this agency will represent all Federal agencies in the administration of Title IX, as is presently the case under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

G. Who Can File Charges: Individuals and organizations can challenge any unlawful discriminatory practice in a Federal program or activity by filing a complaint with the appropriate Federal agency. During the review process, names of complainants are kept confidential if possible.

H. What Happens When a Complaint Is Filed: An investigation is conducted, if warranted, and if a violation is found, informal conciliation and persuasion are first used to eliminate the discriminatory practices.

I. Formal Enforcement Procedures: If persuasion fails, the Act provides for formal hearings conducted by the Federal agency(s) involved. Such action can result in the termination or withholding of Federal financial assistance. In some instances, cases can be referred to the Department of Justice with a recommendation that formal legal action be taken. Recipients of Federal monies which have been terminated or withheld can seek judicial review of the final order issued by the agency.

J. Preferential Treatment: Institutions cannot be required to establish quotas or grant "preferential or disparate" treatment to members of one sex when an imbalance exists with respect to the number or percentage of persons of one sex participating in or receiving the benefits of federally assisted educational programs or activities. This provision is analagous to the racial imbalance provision in Title VI which states that the absence of a racial balance is not in itself proof of discrimination. However, these provisions do not mean that corrective actions may not be required to overcome past discrimination.

K. Provision Concerning Blind Students: Students cannot be denied admission on the grounds of blindness or severely impaired vision to any federally assisted education program or activity. The institution, however, is not required to provide special services for such persons.

We will provide more specific guidance on the requirements of Title IX in the near future. In the interim, should you have any questions relating to this matter, please feel free to write to me.

J. Stanley Pottinger

J. Stanley Pottinger
Director, Office for Civil Rights

Attachment

Public Law 92-318
92nd Congress, S. 659
June 23, 1972

Education Amendments of 1972

# TITLE IX—PROHIBITION OF SEX DISCRIMINATION

## SEX DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED

SEC. 901. (a) No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance, except that:

**Exceptions.**

(1) in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall apply only to institutions of vocational education, professional education, and graduate higher education, and to public institutions of undergraduate higher education;

(2) in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall not apply (A) for one year from the date of enactment of this Act, nor for six years after such date in the case of an educational institution which has begun the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Commissioner of Education or (B) for seven years from the date an educational institution begins the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of only one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Commissioner of Education, whichever is the later;

(3) this section shall not apply to an educational institution which is controlled by a religious organization if the application of this subsection would not be consistent with the religious tenets of such organization;

(4) this section shall not apply to an educational institution whose primary purpose is the training of individuals for the military services of the United States, or the merchant marine; and

(5) in regard to admissions this section shall not apply to any public institution of undergraduate higher education which is an institution that traditionally and continually from its establishment has had a policy of admitting only students of one sex.

(b) Nothing contained in subsection (a) of this section shall be interpreted to require any educational institution to grant preferential or disparate treatment to the members of one sex on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of that sex participating in or receiving the benefits of any federally supported program or activity, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of that sex in any community, State, section, or other area: *Provided*, That this subsection shall not be construed to prevent the consideration in any hearing or proceeding under this title of statistical evidence tending to show that such an imbalance exists with respect to the participation in, or receipt of the benefits of, any such program or activity by the members of one sex.

**Definition.**

(c) For purposes of this title an educational institution means any public or private preschool, elementary, or secondary school, or any institution of vocational, professional, or higher education, except that in the case of an educational institution composed of more than one school, college, or department which are administratively separate units, such term means each such school, college, or department.

## FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE ENFORCEMENT

Sec. 902. Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any education program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 901 with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken. No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President. Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected (1) by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirement, but such termination or refusal shall be limited to the particular political entity, or part thereof, or other recipient as to whom such a finding has been made, and shall be limited in its effect to the particular program, or part thereof, in which such noncompliance has been so found, or (2) by any other means authorized by law: *Provided, however,* That no such action shall be taken until the department or agency concerned has advised the appropriate person or persons of the failure to comply with the requirement and has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means. In the case of any action terminating, or refusing to grant or continue, assistance because of failure to comply with a requirement imposed pursuant to this section, the head of the Federal department or agency shall file with the committees of the House and Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program or activity involved a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action. No such action shall become effective until thirty days have elapsed after the filing of such report.

Report to congressional committees.

## JUDICIAL REVIEW

Sec. 903. Any department or agency action taken pursuant to section 1002 shall be subject to such judicial review as may otherwise be provided by law for similar action taken by such department or agency on other grounds. In the case of action, not otherwise subject to judicial review, terminating or refusing to grant or to continue financial assistance upon a finding of failure to comply with any requirement imposed pursuant to section 902, any person aggrieved (including any State or political subdivision thereof and any agency of either) may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code, and such action shall not be deemed committed to unreviewable agency discretion within the meaning of section 701 of that title.

86 STAT. 375

80 Stat. 392.
5 USC 701.

### PROHIBITION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE BLIND

SEC. 904. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of blindness or severely impaired vision, be denied admission in any course of study by a recipient of Federal financial assistance for any education program or activity, but nothing herein shall be construed to require any such institution to provide any special services to such person because of his blindness or visual impairment.

### EFFECT ON OTHER LAWS

SEC. 905. Nothing in this title shall add to or detract from any existing authority with respect to any program or activity under which Federal financial assistance is extended by way of a contract of insurance or guaranty.

### AMENDMENTS TO OTHER LAWS

78 Stat. 246, 266.

SEC. 906. (a) Sections 401(b), 407(a)(2), 410, and 902 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000c(b), 2000c–6(a)(2), 2000c–9, and 2000h–2) are each amended by inserting the word "sex" after the word "religion".

75 Stat. 71.
77 Stat. 56.
29 USC 206.

(b)(1) Section 13(a) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (29 U.S.C. 213(a)) is amended by inserting after the words "the provisions of section 6" the following: "(except section 6(d) in the case of paragraph (1) of this subsection)".

80 Stat. 831.

(2) Paragraph (1) of subsection 3(r) of such Act (29 U.S.C. 203(r)(1)) is amended by deleting "an elementary or secondary school" and inserting in lieu thereof "a preschool, elementary or secondary school".

(3) Section 3(s)(4) of such Act (29 U.S.C. 203(s)(4)) is amended by deleting "an elementary or secondary school" and inserting in lieu thereof "a preschool, elementary or secondary school".

### INTERPRETATION WITH RESPECT TO LIVING FACILITIES

SEC. 907. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this title, nothing contained herein shall be construed to prohibit any educational institution receiving funds under this Act, from maintaining separate living facilities for the different sexes.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

May 4, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENTS OF SELECTED INSTITUTIONS
OF HIGHER EDUCATION PARTICIPATING IN
FEDERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Subject: Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Prohibition of Sex Discrimination--Plans to End Discrimination in Admission by Certain Educational Institutions

In August of 1972, the Office for Civil Rights wrote to you summarizing the requirements of Title IX, "Prohibition of Sex Discrimination," of the Education Amendments of 1972. A copy of Title IX is enclosed as Attachment A.

Title IX generally prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, with certain exceptions, in all educational institutions receiving Federal financial assistance. This prohibition does not apply to military or merchant marine schools or colleges, or to religiously controlled institutions to the extent it is inconsistent with the religious tenets of the organization controlling the institution.

With regard to student admissions, federally assisted institutions of vocational, professional, graduate higher education, and public undergraduate higher education are required by Title IX not to discriminate on the basis of sex beginning July 1, 1972, the date Title IX became effective. These types of institutions are defined as follows:

> An Institution of Graduate Higher Education means an educational institution which offers:
>
> 1. Academic study beyond the customary bachelor of arts or bachelor of science degrees, whether or not leading to a certificate or any higher degree in the liberal arts and sciences; or
>
> 2. Any degree in a professional field beyond the first professional degree; or
>
> 3. No degree or further academic study, but which operates solely for the purpose of research by persons who have received the highest graduate degree in any field of study.

An Institution of Undergraduate Higher Education means:

1. An institution offering at least two but less than four years of college level studies beyond the high school level, leading to a diploma, or an associate degree or wholly or principally creditable toward customary baccalaureate degrees; or

2. An institution offering programs of studies leading to customary baccalaureate degrees, requiring at least four but less than six years; or

3. An agency or body which certifies credentials or offers degrees, but which may or may not offer programs of study.

A Public Undergraduate Institution of Higher Education is an undergraduate institution of higher education which is under the control of publicly elected or appointed officials and primarily supported by public funds.

An Institution of Vocational Education means a secondary school or a post secondary institution (except an institution of undergraduate higher education) which has as its primary purpose preparation of students to pursue a technical, skilled, or semi-skilled occupation or trade, or to pursue study in a technical field.

An Institution of Professional Education means an educational institution (except an institution of undergraduate higher education) which offers a program of academic study that leads to a first professional degree in a field for which there is a national specialized accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Commissioner of Education. (Please see Attachment B.)

Pursuant to Section 901(c) of Title IX, each administratively separate unit of a federally assisted educational institution is treated as a separate institution in determining which of its admissions processes must be free of sex discrimination. For these purposes, an "administratively separate unit" of a federally assisted institution is defined as a school, department or college of the educational institution which applies policies or criteria for admission of individuals which are separate (but not necessarily different) from the policies or criteria applied in any other component of the institution. For example, if a private university which receives Federal financial assistance contains a graduate school, a law school, and an undergraduate college which are "separate administrative units" as described above, each is treated as a separate educational institution as regards admissions. The college's admissions would be exempt from the requirement of Section 901(a), but those of the graduate and law schools would not; the graduate and law schools would be treated separately from one another in determining which, if either, were eligible to operate under a plan.

The admissions prohibition does not apply to private undergraduate institutions of higher education or to public undergraduate institutions of higher education which were founded as, and continue to be, single-sex institutions or to military or merchant marine schools or colleges. As described above, the prohibition also may not apply to religiously controlled institutions.

Institutions which were single sex as of June 24, 1972, or which began to admit students of both sexes after June 23, 1965, are not prohibited from discrimination on the basis of sex in admissions until June 24, 1973. In addition, these institutions may have up to six years after June 24, 1973, to completely eliminate such discrimination if they are operating under a transition plan which is approved by the Commissioner of Education.

If, after studying this memorandum, you determine that your institution is eligible to submit a plan to eliminate admissions discrimination, please consult Attachment C, "Plans to Eliminate Discrimination in Admissions," for guidance in developing an appropriate plan. Submissions should be made within 45 days of the date of this memorandum to:

Student Affairs Coordinator
Higher Education Division
Office for Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20201

Plans will be reviewed for adequacy and specifically approved or disapproved by the Commissioner of Education, as required by Title IX. Educational institutions which submit plans found to be unacceptable will be so notified as soon as possible and offered further guidance. Educational institutions which are eligible to submit a plan, but do not, will be required not to discriminate on the basis of sex in admissions as of June 24, 1973.

Some educational institutions not subject to the Title IX requirements in admissions or which are eligible to operate under a plan for eliminating discrimination, are nonetheless subject to the requirements of Sections 799A or 845 of the Public Health Service Act and/or Part 83 of Title 45 of the Code of Federal Regulations. These provisions together prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex in the health training programs of any allied health training center, school of nursing or medicine, or other college or entity which receives Federal support under Titles VII or VIII of the Public Health Service Act. An explanation of Sections 799A and 845 and Part 83 is enclosed at Attachment D (Forms HEW-590A and 590C). The various exemptions from Title IX do not change the obligations of institutions under Sections 799A and 845 or Part 83. Thus an institution will not be eligible to receive support under Titles VII or VIII of the Public Health Service Act if it discriminates on the basis of sex in admissions to its health training programs, or in any selection process which precedes eligibility for such programs, even if it does so under a plan approved by the Commissioner of Education under Title IX.

The regulation implementing Title IX referred to in the August 1972 memorandum is not yet available. This regulation will set forth all of the requirements pertaining to that Title.

Should you have any questions concerning this matter, please feel free to contact Burton M. Taylor, Student Affairs Coordinator, Office for Civil Rights. His telephone number is Area Code 202 963-4418.

Peter E. Holmes
Director
Office for Civil Rights

John Ottina
U.S. Commissioner
of Education-designate

Attachments (4)

ATTACHMENT A

Public Law 92-318
92nd Congress, S. 659
June 23, 1972

Education Amendments of 1972

# TITLE IX—PROHIBITION OF SEX DISCRIMINATION

## SEX DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED

SEC. 901. (a) No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance, except that:

**Exceptions.**

(1) in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall apply only to institutions of vocational education, professional education, and graduate higher education, and to public institutions of undergraduate higher education;

(2) in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall not apply (A) for one year from the date of enactment of this Act, nor for six years after such date in the case of an educational institution which has begun the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Commissioner of Education or (B) for seven years from the date an educational institution begins the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of only one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Commissioner of Education, whichever is the later;

(3) this section shall not apply to an educational institution which is controlled by a religious organization if the application of this subsection would not be consistent with the religious tenets of such organization;

(4) this section shall not apply to an educational institution whose primary purpose is the training of individuals for the military services of the United States, or the merchant marine; and

(5) in regard to admissions this section shall not apply to any public institution of undergraduate higher education which is an institution that traditionally and continually from its establishment has had a policy of admitting only students of one sex.

(b) Nothing contained in subsection (a) of this section shall be interpreted to require any educational institution to grant preferential or disparate treatment to the members of one sex on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of that sex participating in or receiving the benefits of any federally supported program or activity, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of that sex in any community, State, section, or other area: *Provided*, That this subsection shall not be construed to prevent the consideration in any hearing or proceeding under this title of statistical evidence tending to show that such an imbalance exists with respect to the participation in, or receipt of the benefits of, any such program or activity by the members of one sex.

**Definition.**

(c) For purposes of this title an educational institution means any public or private preschool, elementary, or secondary school, or any institution of vocational, professional, or higher education, except that in the case of an educational institution composed of more than one school, college, or department which are administratively separate units, such term means each such school, college, or department.

## FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE ENFORCEMENT

SEC. 902. Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any education program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 901 with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken. No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President. Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected (1) by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirement, but such termination or refusal shall be limited to the particular political entity, or part thereof, or other recipient as to whom such a finding has been made, and shall be limited in its effect to the particular program, or part thereof, in which such noncompliance has been so found, or (2) by any other means authorized by law: *Provided, however*, That no such action shall be taken until the department or agency concerned has advised the appropriate person or persons of the failure to comply with the requirement and has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means. In the case of any action terminating, or refusing to grant or continue, assistance because of failure to comply with a requirement imposed pursuant to this section, the head of the Federal department or agency shall file with the committees of the House and Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program or activity involved a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action. No such action shall become effective until thirty days have elapsed after the filing of such report.

Report to congressional committees.

## JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 903. Any department or agency action taken pursuant to section 1002 shall be subject to such judicial review as may otherwise be provided by law for similar action taken by such department or agency on other grounds. In the case of action, not otherwise subject to judicial review, terminating or refusing to grant or to continue financial assistance upon a finding of failure to comply with any requirement imposed pursuant to section 902, any person aggrieved (including any State or political subdivision thereof and any agency of either) may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code, and such action shall not be deemed committed to unreviewable agency discretion within the meaning of section 701 of that title.

86 STAT. 375

80 Stat. 392.
5 USC 701.

### PROHIBITION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE BLIND

SEC. 904. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of blindness or severely impaired vision, be denied admission in any course of study by a recipient of Federal financial assistance for any education program or activity, but nothing herein shall be construed to require any such institution to provide any special services to such person because of his blindness or visual impairment.

### EFFECT ON OTHER LAWS

SEC. 905. Nothing in this title shall add to or detract from any existing authority with respect to any program or activity under which Federal financial assistance is extended by way of a contract of insurance or guaranty.

### AMENDMENTS TO OTHER LAWS

SEC. 906. (a) Sections 401(b), 407(a)(2), 410, and 902 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000c(b), 2000c–6(a)(2), 2000c–9, and 2000h–2) are each amended by inserting the word "sex" after the word "religion". 78 Stat. 246, 266.

(b)(1) Section 13(a) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (29 U.S.C. 213(a)) is amended by inserting after the words 'the provisions of section 6" the following: "(except section 6(d) in the case of paragraph (1) of this subsection)". 75 Stat. 71. 77 Stat. 56. 29 USC 206.

(2) Paragraph (1) of subsection 3(r) of such Act (29 U.S.C. 203 (r)(1)) is amended by deleting "an elementary or secondary school" and inserting in lieu thereof "a preschool, elementary or secondary school". 80 Stat. 831.

(3) Section 3(s)(4) of such Act (29 U.S.C. 203(s)(4)) is amended by deleting "an elementary or secondary school" and inserting in lieu thereof "a preschool, elementary or secondary school".

### INTERPRETATION WITH RESPECT TO LIVING FACILITIES

SEC. 907. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this title, nothing contained herein shall be construed to prohibit any educational institution receiving funds under this Act, from maintaining separate living facilities for the different sexes.

ATTACHMENT B

## SELECTED ASSOCIATIONS AND AGENCIES RECOGNIZED FOR THEIR SPECIALIZED ACCREDITATION OF SCHOOLS OR PROGRAMS*

BUSINESS - American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business

DENTISTRY - American Dental Association

HOSPITAL ADMINISTRATION - Accrediting Commission on Graduate Education for Hospital Administration

LAW - American Bar Association

LIBRARIANSHIP - American Library Association

MEDICINE - Liaison Committee on Medical Education representing the Council on Medical Education of the American Medical Association and the Executive Council of the Association of American Medical Colleges

OPTOMETRY - American Optometric Association

OSTEOPATHIC MEDICINE - American Osteopathic Association

PODIATRY - American Podiatry Association

PSYCHOLOGY - American Psychological Association

PUBLIC HEALTH - American Public Health Association, Inc.

SOCIAL WORK - Council on Social Work Education

SPEECH PATHOLOGY AND AUDIOLOGY - American Speech and Hearing Association

THEOLOGY - American Association of Theological Schools

VETERINARY MEDICINE - American Veterinary Medical Association

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*Excerpted from Nationally Recognized Accrediting Agencies and Associations, March 1972, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Higher Education.

ATTACHMENT C

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR "PLANS TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION IN ADMISSIONS"

Institutions are eligible to operate under plans during the period beginning June 23, 1973, and ending no later than June 23, 1979. A plan must identify each specific obstacle to nondiscrimination in admissions which you believe will exist after June 23, 1973, and provide for its elimination at the earliest practicable date. It should be noted, however, that sex discrimination in treatment of students after admission and sex discrimination in employment have been prohibited since June 24, 1972.

Your plan shall include the following information:

1. State on the first page the name, address, and FICE Code of your institution, the administratively separate units to which the plan is applicable, and the name, address, and telephone number of the person to whom questions concerning the plan may be addressed. The person who submits the plan shall be the chief administrator or president of the institution, or another individual legally authorized to bind the institution to all actions set forth in the plan.

2. State whether your institution has already begun to admit students of both sexes, and if so, when it began to do so. An institution which began to admit students of both sexes prior to June 24, 1965, is not eligible to operate under a plan and must have eliminated all discrimination in admissions as of June 24, 1972.

3. Identify and describe any obstacles to admitting students without discrimination on the basis of sex on and after June 23, 1973. This should be done separately for each administratively separate unit to which the plan applies. Nondiscrimination does not imply that your institution must or will accept students of either sex in any particular number or proportion, but it does mean removal of all obstacles, based on sex, to admission of students.

Many institutions may wish to increase their annual class size at some time in the future, so that the number of students of the sex previously favored need not be reduced, while more opportunities for students of the other sex are provided. Such a policy may not be adopted as a substitute for nondiscrimination in whatever admissions your institution does undertake. Consequently, financial or other considerations which may delay an increase in enrollment cannot excuse eliminating admissions discrimination after June 23, 1973.

4. Describe in detail the steps necessary to eliminate as soon as practicable the obstacles described in item (3), and indicate for each the schedule for taking these steps and the individual(s) directly responsible for doing so.

5. For each class or group of students whose admission commences after June 23, 1973, no policy or practice may result in different treatment of applicants on the basis of sex, unless such treatment is necessitated by an obstacle identified in item (3), and a schedule for eliminating that obstacle is provided.

6. To overcome the effects of past exclusion of students on the basis of sex, your institution must take action to encourage individuals, of the sex discriminated against, to apply to it and must include as part of its plan specific steps designed to encourage such applications. These steps shall include stating your institution's nondiscrimination policy in all publications designed for applicants, students, and counselors of applicants, as well as instituting recruitment programs which emphasize the institution's commitment to enrolling students of the sex previously excluded.

7. Based on information available to your institution, include in the plan estimates of the number of students, by sex, expected to apply for and enter each class during the period covered by the plan.

8. Please include any other information which you believe to be useful in evaluating your institution's elimination of sex discrimination in its admissions.

ATTACHMENT D

**DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE**
**OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY**
**Office for Civil Rights**
**330 Independence Avenue, S.W.**
**Washington, D.C. 20201**

Explanation Of

## HEW FORM NO. 590. ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH SECTION 799A OF PART H. TITLE VII, OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT, AND SECTION 845 OF PART C, TITLE VIII, OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT

### I Applicability

Section 799A of Part H, Title VII, of the Public Health Service Act states that:

> The Secretary may not make a grant, loan guarantee, or interest subsidy payment under this Title to, or for the benefit of, any school of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry, veterinary medicine, optometry, pharmacy, podiatry, or public health or any training center for allied health personnel unless the application for the grant, loan guarantee, or interest subsidy payment contains assurances satisfactory to the Secretary that the school or training center will not discriminate on the basis of sex in the admission of individuals to its training programs. The Secretary may not enter into a contract under this Title with any such school or training center unless the school or training center furnishes assurances satisfactory to the Secretary that it will not discriminate on the basis of sex in the admission of individuals to its training programs.

Section 845 of Part C, Title VIII, of the Act imposes identical requirements with respect to awards to schools of nursing.

### II. Definitions

Because Sections 799A and 845 cover a wide variety of programs and institutions, a simple Assurance of general applicability requires definitions of certain relevant terms.

A "center" or "training center for allied health professions," is an institution meeting the criteria of PHSA Section 795(1), and Regulations thereunder. (Excerpts of Section 795(1), and other PHSA sections cited below are attached to this Explanation.)

A "school" is any school of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, pharmacy, optometry, podiatry, veterinary medicine or public health, as such schools are defined in PHSA Section 724(4). (See attached.)

A "school of nursing" is any "school of nursing" defined in PHSA Section 843. (See attached.)

To avoid repetition, the term "Educational Unit" shall refer to any "school" (as defined above), school of nursing, center, or other school or institution which receives an award under Titles VII or VIII, or for whose benefit such an award is made.

The term "training program" refers to *all* courses, curricula, or other training offered by an Educational Unit and leading to *any* of the degrees specified in Sections 795(1), 724(4), or 843 or by regulation, whether or not the training program receives or is benefited by any award under *Titles VII or VIII.*

The term "award" means a grant, loan guarantee, interest subsidy, or contract under Title VII or Title VIII, and thus subject to Section 799A or Section 845.

## III. Coverage

If an Educational Unit's training programs are not subject to the sex discrimination prohibitions because no award is made directly to the Educational Unit, all of the Educational Unit's training programs nevertheless become subject to those prohibitions if the Educational Unit benefits from a Title VII or Title VIII award to another Educational Unit. An award is said to "benefit" an Educational Unit, or is "for its benefit," whenever it has any relationship with the recipient of an award which gives, or is designed to give, any assistance or support to the implementation of any training program at the Educational Unit. For example, if a hospital subject to the sex discrimination prohibitions permitted students of a school of nursing to participate in the hospital's classroom, clinical, or other training programs, that award would "benefit" the school of nursing, and all training programs at the school of nursing would become subject to the sex discrimination prohibitions of Sections 799A and 845.

If an Assurance has been accepted by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) from an Educational Unit which subsequently offers new training programs, the Assurance extends automatically to the new programs. An Educational Unit need not submit a separate Assurance form in application for different awards. However, the Assurance will be contained in the text of the documents by which each individual award is made. If a college or university includes more than one Educational Unit, the college or university may, if it chooses, file a single Assurance which will apply to all training programs in all of the institution's Educational Units.

Situations will arise when a college or university which is a "center" will include one or more "schools," or "schools of nursing." For purposes of ascertaining the applicability of the sex discrimination prohibitions of Sections 799A and 845 in those situations, each school or school of nursing is treated as an Educational Unit separate from the center (and, as stated above, Educational Units are defined as those institutions which receive or benefit from an award under Titles VII or VIII and are subject to the sex discrimination prohibitions of Sections 799A and 845).

In this situation, if an award is made to or for the benefit of the center alone, i.e. exclusive of the school or school of nursing, the Assurance extends to *all* training programs offered by the center alone. If the award also benefits a school, or school of nursing, which is part of the center, the Assurance also extends to *all* training programs offered at that benefited school or school of nursing. If an award is made to or for the benefit of a school, or school of nursing, which is part of the center, the Assurance extends to *all* training programs offered by that school, or school of nursing. In addition, if the same award also benefits the center, or another school or school of nursing which is part of the center, the Assurance extends to *all* training programs offered by the benefited center or other school or school of nursing.

For example, a university offering training leading to any of the degrees specified in Section 795(1) and meeting the other criteria specified therein, is a "training center for allied health professions." If the university also operates a medical school, as defined in Section 724(4), the medical school is considered as an Educational Unit separate from the university in its capacity as a center. If the medical school receives an award, all its training programs become subject to the sex discrimination prohibitions. If the university center's allied health training is not offered in the medical school, and that training does not receive or benefit from any other Title VII or Title VIII award, it is not subject to the sex discrimination prohibitions. However, if students in the allied health programs participate in classes funded in whole or in part by the award to the medical school, or use facilities funded by such an award, the allied health training would "benefit" from the award. In that event, *all* allied health programs would be subject to the sex discrimination prohibitions.

## IV. The Meaning of Nondiscrimination

An Educational Unit subject to the Assurance may not, on the basis of sex, treat one individual differently from another in determining whether he or she satisfies any enrollment, eligibility, or other condition for admission to any of its training programs. "Admissions" refers to all aspects of any process by which the Educational Unit selects students or other participants in its training programs. If a training program within a "single sex" Educational Unit, or within an Educational Unit which uses restrictive admissions quotas based on the sex of the applicant, admits students only from that Educational Unit, admissions to the training program are discriminatory.

Admissions criteria, processes, or decisions cannot reflect any bias on the basis of sex. For example, applicants cannot be ranked separately according to their sex, nor can standards for ranking applicants by the use of grades, test scores, aptitude scores or other means, differ for applicants of each sex.

Recruitment procedures must encourage potential applicants of both sexes to apply and must eliminate deterrent effects of any past discrimination. The Educational Unit's nondiscriminatory policies must be made known to potential applicants. This should be accomplished by specifying in all recruiting materials that the Educational Unit seeks and admits students, and provides benefits to students after admission, without regard to their sex. The Educational Unit should publicize this policy, and all interviewers and other participants in its recruiting and admissions activities must be made aware of the policy. If it is determined that the effects of past discriminatory policies continue to deter applicants, and that the deterrent effects are not eliminated through the implementation of a nondiscriminatory recruiting and admissions policy, the Educational Unit may be required to direct recruiting activities toward potential applicants of the sex against which restrictions have previously operated. Consideration of an applicant's sex in recruitment and admissions is not prohibited where such consideration is for the purpose and has the effect of overcoming prior restrictive practices.

Nondiscrimination in admission to a training program includes nondiscrimination in all practices relating to applicants to and students in the program; nondiscrimination in the enjoyment of every right, privilege, and opportunity secured by admission to the program; and nondiscrimination in all employment practices relating to employees working directly with applicants to or students in the program. The Educational Unit must eliminate unintentional as well as purposeful discrimination, and must administer its program so that no individual is treated or participates differently from any other, on the basis of sex.

The Educational Unit may not in any way use administrative criteria or methods which result in discrimination on the basis of sex. This requirement applies to determinations of (1) the types of services, financial aid or other benefits and facilities which will be provided in the training program; (2) the situations in which the services will be provided, and (3) the class of individuals who may participate in the program, or who will be provided the services, aid, benefits, or facilities. For example, training may not be offered in facilities to which members of either sex are denied admission, nor may the Educational Unit, in operating a training program, permit groups not subject to the sex discrimination prohibitions to participate, if those groups discriminate on the basis of sex.

## V. Compliance Information and Procedures

In order for OCR to ascertain compliance with Section 799A or Section 845, each Educational Unit will be required to keep and submit to OCR such information relating to its obligations under the Assurance as the Director, OCR, may request. This includes permitting access by representatives of OCR to such of the Educational Unit's records and other sources of information, and its facilities, as the Director, OCR, may request. OCR will conduct periodic reviews of the practices of each Educational Unit.

If a review indicates an apparent or probable breach of the obligations imposed by Sections 799A or 845, the Director, OCR, will promptly inform the Educational Unit and attempt to resolve the matter by conciliation. If the matter cannot be resolved informally, the Department will seek remedy through administrative or judicial procedures. Remedies may include suspension or termination of, and refusal to make or continue, any award which is subject to Sections 799A or 845, and is to or for the benefit of the Educational Unit.

Attachments

**PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT:**

Section 724(4):

> The terms "school of medicine", "school of dentistry", "school of osteopathy", "school of pharmacy", "school of optometry", "school of podiatry", "school of veterinary medicine", and "school of public health" mean a school which provides training leading, respectively, to a degree of doctor of medicine, a degree of doctor of dentistry or an equivalent degree, a degree of doctor of osteopathy, a degree of bachelor of science in pharmacy or doctor of pharmacy, a degree of doctor of optometry or an equivalent degree, a degree of doctor of podiatry or doctor of surgical chiropody, a degree of doctor of veterinary medicine or an equivalent degree, and a graduate degree in public health, and including advanced training related to such training provided by any such school. . . .

**PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT:**

Section 795:

> (1) The term "training center for allied health professions" means a junior college, college, or university
>
> (A) which provides, or can provide, programs of education leading to a baccalaureate or associate degree or to the equivalent of either or to a higher degree in the medical technology, optometric technology, dental hygiene, or any of such other of the allied health professions curriculums as are specified by regulations, or which, if in a junior college provides a program (i) leading to an associate or an equivalent degree, (ii) of education in optometric technology, dental hygiene, or curriculums as are specified by regulation, and (iii) acceptable for full credit toward a baccalaureate or equivalent degree in the allied health professions or designed to prepare the student to work as a technician in a health occupation specified by regulations of the Surgeon General,
>
> (B) which provides training for not less than a total of twenty persons in such curriculums,
>
> (C) which, if in a college or university which does not include a teaching hospital or in a junior college, is affiliated (to the extent and in the manner determined in accordance with regulations) with such a hospital,
>
> (D) which is (or is in a college or university, which is) accredited by a recognized body or bodies approved for such purpose by the Commissioner of Education, or which is in a junior college which is accredited by the regional accrediting agency for the region in which it is located or there is satisfactory assurance afforded by such accrediting agency to the Surgeon General that reasonable progress is being made toward accreditation by such junior college, and
>
> (E) in the case of an applicant for a grant under Section 793, which, if the college or university does not include a school of medicine, school of osteopathy, school of optometry, or school of dentistry, as defined in paragraph (4) of Section 724, as may be appropriate in the light of the training for which the grant is to be made, is affiliated (to the extent and in the manner determined in accordance with regulations) with such a school. . . .

**Title 42 Code of Federal Regulations**

Section 57.703 **Specified curriculums.**

(a) Basic and special improvement grant funds authorized under **Section** 792 of the Act may be used to develop and improve curriculums which qualify students for the baccalaureate degree or its equivalent or masters degree to the extent required to meet basic professional requirements for employment as one of the following:

(1) Medical Technologist.
(2) Optometric Technologist.
(3) Dental Hygienist.
(4) Radiologic Technologist.
(5) Medical Record Librarian.
(6) Dietitian.
(7) Occupational Therapist.
(8) Physical Therapist.
(9) Sanitarian.

(b) Basic and special improvement grant funds authorized under Section 792 of the Act may also be used to develop and improve curriculums which qualify students for the associate degree or its equivalent and for employment as one of the following:

(1) X-ray Technician.
(2) Medical Record Technician.
(3) Inhalation Therapy Technician.
(4) Dental Laboratory Technician.
(5) Dental Hygienist.
(6) Dental Assistant.
(7) Ophthalmic Assistant.
(8) Occupational Therapy Assistant.
(9) Dietary Technician.
(10) Medical Laboratory Technician.
(11) Optometric Technician.
(12) Sanitarian Technician.

Title 42 Code of Federal Regulations

Section 57.709 **Determination of number of students.**

(a) For purposes of **Section 795(1)(B)** of the Act, the number of students to which a center provides training in one or more of the curriculums specified in Section 57.703 shall be the number of full-time students receiving training in such curriculums on October 15 of the fiscal year in which application is made, provided that assurances satisfactory to the Secretary are received that a minimum of six full-time students received training in each such curriculum on such date. . . .

**PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT:**

Section 843:

* * *

(b) the term "school of nursing" means a collegiate, associate degree, or diploma school of nursing.

(c) the term "collegiate school of nursing" means a department, division, or other administrative unit in a college or university which provides primarily or exclusively a program of education in professional nursing and allied subjects leading to the degree of bachelor of arts, bachelor of science, bachelor of nursing, or to an equivalent degree, or to a graduate degree in nursing, and including advanced training related to such program of education provided by such school, but only if such program, or such unit, college or university is accredited.

(d) the term "associate degree school of nursing" means a department, division, or other administrative unit in a junior college, community college, college or university which provides primarily or exclusively a two-year program of education in professional nursing and allied subjects leading to an associate degree in nursing or to an equivalent degree, but only if such program, or such unit, college, or university is accredited.

(e) the term "diploma school of nursing" means a school affiliated with a hospital or university, or an independent school, which provides primarily or exclusively a program of education in professional nursing and allied subjects leading to a diploma or to equivalent indicia that such program has been satisfactorily completed, but only if such program, or such affiliated school or such hospital or university or such independent school is accredited. . . .

## Explanation Of

## HEW FORM NO. 590, ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH SECTION 799A OF PART H, TITLE VII, OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT, AND SECTION 845 OF PART C, TITLE VIII, OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT — ADDENDUM

This addendum is designed to aid in implementing 45 CFR Section 83.1, insofar as that regulation imposes obligations upon entities which are not enumerated in Sections 799A and 845 of the Public Health Service Act and which receive assistance under Titles VII and VIII of that Act. The regulation was promulgated by the Secretary of this Department on May 26, 1972, and was published at 37 Fed. Reg. 10938, June 1, 1972.

Titles VII and VIII of the Public Health Service Act, as amended by the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training and Nurse Training Acts of 1971, authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to award financial assistance to promote the training of health personnel and to sustain the viability of health training institutions. Sections 799A and 845 of the Public Health Service Act , 42 U.S.C. 295h-9 and 298, direct the Secretary to require, from certain types of entities applying for such awards, assurances of nondiscrimination on the basis of sex in admissions to health-related training programs. Administration of those provisions has been delegated to the Director, Office for Civil Rights.

Section 83.1, referred to above, requires that such nondiscrimination assurances be obtained from all entities applying for awards under titles VII and VIII. That section reads as follows:

> §83.1 Assurances required.
>
> No grant, loan guarantee, or interest subsidy payment under titles VII or VIII of the Public Health Service Act shall be made to or for the benefit of any entity, and no contract under titles VII or VIII of the Public Health Service Act shall be made with any entity, unless the entity furnishes assurances satisfactory to the Director, Office for Civil Rights, that the entity will not discriminate on the basis of sex in the admission of individuals to its training programs.

In order to comply with this provision, where a recipient of assistance under title VII or title VIII is not subject to Section 799A or 845, the recipient must execute the attached "ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH 45 CFR Part 83."

The body of this Explanation (Form HEW-590A (3/72)) shall be applicable as appropriate to the attached Assurance. However, the term "Educational Unit", as defined in Section II of the Explanation, shall include, in addition to its present definition, any entity not enumerated in that definition which receives an award under Titles VII or VIII, or for whose benefit such an award is made.

HEW-590C (6/72)

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

May 30, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTORS OF INSTITUTIONS OF VOCATIONAL
EDUCATION PARTICIPATING IN FEDERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

SUBJECT: Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Prohibition of Sex Discrimination in Admission by Certain Educational Institutions

Title IX generally prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, with certain exceptions, in all educational institutions receiving Federal financial assistance. This prohibition does not apply to military or merchant marine schools or colleges, or to religiously controlled institutions to the extent it is inconsistent with the religious tenets of the organization controlling the institution.

A copy of an earlier memorandum for Chief State School Officers and local school superintendents and a copy of Title IX are enclosed as Attachment A. The Federal Regulation implementing Title IX is not yet available. This Regulation will set forth all of the requirements pertaining to that Title.

With regard to student admissions, federally assisted institutions of vocational education are required by Title IX not to discriminate on the basis of sex beginning July 1, 1972, the date Title IX became effective. These institutions are defined as follows:

> An Institution of Vocational Education means a secondary school or a post-secondary institution (except an institution of undergraduate higher education) which has as its primary purpose the preparation of students to pursue a technical, skilled or semi-skilled occupation or trade, or to pursue study in a technical field.

Institutions of vocational education which were single-sex as of June 24, 1972, or which began to admit students of both sexes after June 23, 1965, are not prohibited from discrimination on the basis of sex in admissions until June 24, 1973. In addition, these institutions may have up to six years after June 24, 1973, to completely eliminate such discrimination provided, however, that they are operating under a transition plan, prepared by the institution, submitted to this Office, and approved by the Commissioner of Education.

If, after studying this memorandum, you determine that your institution is among those which would be eligible to submit a plan to eliminate discrimination in admissions, please consult Attachment B, "Plans to Eliminate Discrimination in Admissions," for guidance in developing an appropriate plan. Submissions should be made within 15 days of the date of this memorandum to:

Vocational Education Coordinator
Division of Elementary and Secondary Education
DHEW/Office for Civil Rights
330 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201

Plans will be reviewed for adequacy and specifically approved by the Commissioner of Education, as required by Title IX. Educational institutions which submit plans found to be unacceptable will be so notified as soon as possible and offered further guidance. Educational institutions which are eligible to submit a plan, but do not, will be required not to discriminate on the basis of sex in admissions as of June 24, 1973.

Should you have any questions concerning this matter, please feel free to contact David Gerard, Vocational Education Coordinator, Office for Civil Rights. His telephone number is Area Code 202/962-4686.

John Ottina

Peter E. Holmes
Director
Office for Civil Rights

John Ottina
U.S. Commissioner
of Education-designate

Attachments (2)

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

February 1973

## MEMORANDUM FOR CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS AND LOCAL SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

SUBJECT: Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 Prohibiting Discrimination on the Basis of Sex as it Affects Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Schools and Programs

On June 8, 1972, the Congress enacted the "Education Amendments of 1972." On June 23, 1972, the President signed the measure into law, and it became effective on July 1, 1972. Title IX of this Act prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in all federally assisted education programs and amends certain portions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Labor Standards Act. The Office for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is presently developing regulations to implement Title IX. For your immediate information, however, I have set forth a brief summary of the Act, with primary emphasis on its applicability to elementary, secondary and vocational schools and programs. A copy of the law is attached.

A. Basic Provision: Title IX states: "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. . . . "

This sex discrimination provision of Title IX is patterned after Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which forbids discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in all federally assisted programs.

As indicated below, there are exemptions to, and a deferment in, implementing Title IX as it applies to admissions. However, effective July 1, 1972, as a condition of receiving Federal assistance, preschools, elementary, secondary, and vocational schools must make all other benefits and services available to students without discrimination on the basis of sex and must implement employment practices which do not discriminate on the basis of sex, except as provided in D.

B. Coverage: The Act covers all educational programs and activities which are offered by any institution, organization, association or group, not exempt under the Act, and which receive Federal financial assistance by way of grant, loan, or contract, other than a contract of insurance or guaranty. Institutions which are covered include public and private preschools, elementary and secondary schools, and institutions of vocational education.

C. Provisions Concerning Admissions: Certain types of educational institutions covered by Title IX are prohibited from discriminating on the basis of sex in all of their programs and activities, including admissions. The only elementary and secondary schools covered by the admissions prohibition are institutions of vocational education. Such institutions are required not to discriminate in admissions on the basis of sex as of June 24, 1972. Institutions of vocational education which as of June 23, 1972, were open only to students of one sex and institutions of vocational education which admitted only students of one sex as of June 23, 1965, but which after that date admitted students of both sexes, will be exempt from the nondiscrimination in admissions requirements until the close of June 23, 1973, and for six years thereafter (i.e., until June 24 1979) provided they are implementing a transition plan approved by the Commissioner of Education.

During the exemption and transition periods, institutions of vocational education are subject to all other provisions of the Act and may not discriminate against admitted students on the basis of sex.

D. Other Exemptions:

1. Religious Institutions: Institutions controlled by religious organizations are exempt from the prohibition of Title IX to the extent that such prohibitions are inconsistent with the religious tenets of such organizations.

2. Military Schools: Those educational institutions whose primary purpose is the training of individuals for the military services of the United States or the Merchant Marine are exempt.

E. Provision Relating to Living Facilities: The Act allows institutions receiving Federal funds to maintain separate living facilities for persons of different sexes.

F. Who Enforces the Act: The Federal departments empowered to extend aid to educational institutions have the enforcement responsibility. (The enforcement provisions are virtually identical to those of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964). Reviews may be conducted whether or not a complaint has been filed. We presently are in the process of developing procedures under which this Agency will represent most Federal agencies in the administration of Title IX, as is presently the case under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

G. Who May File Charges: Individuals and organizations may challenge any practice or policy prohibited under Title IX by filing a complaint with HEW or any other appropriate Federal agency.

H. What Happens When a Complaint is Filed: An investigation is conducted, if warranted, and if a violation is found, informal conciliation and persuasion are first used in an effort to eliminate the discriminatory practices.

I. Formal Enforcement Procedures: If persuasion fails, the Act provides for formal hearings conducted by the Federal agency(s) involved. Such action can result in the termination or withholding of Federal financial assistance. In some instances, cases may be referred to the Department of Justice with a recommendation that formal legal action be taken. Recipients of Federal monies which have been terminated or withheld may seek judicial review of the final order issued by the agency.

J. Preferential Treatment: Institutions cannot be required to establish or grant preferential or disparate treatment to the members of one sex solely on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of that sex participating in or receiving the benefits of any federally supported program or activity in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of that sex in any community, State, section, or other area. However, this provision does not mean that corrective actions may not be undertaken or required to overcome past discrimination, or that evidence of a statistical imbalance may not be used to prove the existence of discrimination.

K. Provision Concerning Blind Students: Students cannot be denied admission on the grounds of blindness or severely impaired vision to any federally assisted education program or activity. The institution, however, is not required to provide special services for such persons.

We will provide more specific guidance on the requirements of Title IX in the future. In the interim, if you have any questions relating to the implementation of Title IX, please feel free to write to me.

Patricia A. King

Patricia A. King
Acting Director
Office for Civil Rights

Attachment

Public Law 92-318
92nd Congress, S. 659
June 23, 1972

Education Amendments of 1972

## TITLE IX—PROHIBITION OF SEX DISCRIMINATION

### SEX DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED

SEC. 901. (a) No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance, except that:

Exceptions.

(1) in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall apply only to institutions of vocational education, professional education, and graduate higher education, and to public institutions of undergraduate higher education;

(2) in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall not apply (A) for one year from the date of enactment of this Act, nor for six years after such date in the case of an educational institution which has begun the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Commissioner of Education or (B) for seven years from the date an educational institution begins the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of only one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Commissioner of Education, whichever is the later;

(3) this section shall not apply to an educational institution which is controlled by a religious organization if the application of this subsection would not be consistent with the religious tenets of such organization;

(4) this section shall not apply to an educational institution whose primary purpose is the training of individuals for the military services of the United States, or the merchant marine; and

(5) in regard to admissions this section shall not apply to any public institution of undergraduate higher education which is an institution that traditionally and continually from its establishment has had a policy of admitting only students of one sex.

(b) Nothing contained in subsection (a) of this section shall be interpreted to require any educational institution to grant preferential or disparate treatment to the members of one sex on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of that sex participating in or receiving the benefits of any federally supported program or activity, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of that sex in any community, State, section, or other area: *Provided*, That this subsection shall not be construed to prevent the consideration in any hearing or proceeding under this title of statistical evidence tending to show that such an imbalance exists with respect to the participation in, or receipt of the benefits of, any such program or activity by the members of one sex.

Definition.

(c) For purposes of this title an educational institution means any public or private preschool, elementary, or secondary school, or any institution of vocational, professional, or higher education, except that in the case of an educational institution composed of more than one school, college, or department which are administratively separate units, such term means each such school, college, or department.

### FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE ENFORCEMENT

SEC. 902. Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any education program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 901 with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken. No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President. Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected (1) by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirement, but such termination or refusal shall be limited to the particular political entity, or part thereof, or other recipient as to whom such a finding has been made, and shall be limited in its effect to the particular program, or part thereof, in which such noncompliance has been so found, or (2) by any other means authorized by law: *Provided, however*, That no such action shall be taken until the department or agency concerned has advised the appropriate person or persons of the failure to comply with the requirement and has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means. In the case of any action terminating, or refusing to grant or continue, assistance because of failure to comply with a requirement imposed pursuant to this section, the head of the Federal department or agency shall file with the committees of the House and Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program or activity involved a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action. No such action shall become effective until thirty days have elapsed after the filing of such report.

Report to congressional committees.

### JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 903. Any department or agency action taken pursuant to section 1002 shall be subject to such judicial review as may otherwise be provided by law for similar action taken by such department or agency on other grounds. In the case of action, not otherwise subject to judicial review, terminating or refusing to grant or to continue financial assistance upon a finding of failure to comply with any requirement imposed pursuant to section 902, any person aggrieved (including any State or political subdivision thereof and any agency of either) may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code, and such action shall not be deemed committed to unreviewable agency discretion within the meaning of section 701 of that title.

86 STAT. 375

80 Stat. 392.
5 USC 701.

### PROHIBITION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE BLIND

SEC. 904. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of blindness or severely impaired vision, be denied admission in any course of study by a recipient of Federal financial assistance for any education program or activity, but nothing herein shall be construed to require any such institution to provide any special services to such person because of his blindness or visual impairment.

### EFFECT ON OTHER LAWS

SEC. 905. Nothing in this title shall add to or detract from any existing authority with respect to any program or activity under which Federal financial assistance is extended by way of a contract of insurance or guaranty.

### AMENDMENTS TO OTHER LAWS

78 Stat. 246, 266.

SEC. 906. (a) Sections 401(b), 407(a)(2), 410, and 902 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000c(b), 2000c-6(a)(2), 2000c-9, and 2000h-2) are each amended by inserting the word "sex" after the word "religion".

75 Stat. 71.
77 Stat. 56.
29 USC 206.

(b)(1) Section 13(a) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (29 U.S.C. 213(a)) is amended by inserting after the words "the provisions of section 6" the following: "(except section 6(d) in the case of paragraph (1) of this subsection)".

80 Stat. 831.

(2) Paragraph (1) of subsection 3(r) of such Act (29 U.S.C. 203(r)(1)) is amended by deleting "an elementary or secondary school" and inserting in lieu thereof "a preschool, elementary or secondary school".

(3) Section 3(s)(4) of such Act (29 U.S.C. 203(s)(4)) is amended by deleting "an elementary or secondary school" and inserting in lieu thereof "a preschool, elementary or secondary school".

### INTERPRETATION WITH RESPECT TO LIVING FACILITIES

SEC. 907. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this title, nothing contained herein shall be construed to prohibit any educational institution receiving funds under this Act, from maintaining separate living facilities for the different sexes.

ATTACHMENT B

# INSTRUCTIONS FOR "PLANS TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION IN ADMISSIONS"

Institutions are eligible to operate under plans during the period beginning June 23, 1973, and ending no later than June 23, 1979. A plan must identify each specific obstacle to nondiscrimination in admissions which you believe will exist after June 23, 1973, and provide for its elimination at the earliest practicable date. It should be noted, however, that sex discrimination in treatment of students after admission and sex discrimination in employment have been prohibited since June 24, 1972.

Your plan shall include the following information:

1. State on the first page the name, address, and FICE Code of your institution, the administratively separate units to which the plan is applicable, and the name, address, and telephone number of the person to whom questions concerning the plan may be addressed. The person who submits the plan shall be the chief administrator or president of the institution, or another individual legally authorized to bind the institution to all actions set forth in the plan.

2. State whether your institution has already begun to admit students of both sexes, and if so, when it began to do so. An institution which began to admit students of both sexes prior to June 24, 1965, is not eligible to operate under a plan and must have eliminated all discrimination in admissions as of June 24, 1972.

3. Identify and describe any obstacles to admitting students without discrimination on the basis of sex on and after June 23, 1973. This should be done separately for each administratively separate unit to which the plan applies. Nondiscrimination does not imply that your institution must or will accept students of either sex in any particular number or proportion, but it does mean removal of all obstacles, based on sex, to admission of students.

Many institutions may wish to increase their annual class size at some time in the future, so that the number of students of the sex previously favored need not be reduced, while more opportunities for students of the other sex are provided. Such a policy may not be adopted as a substitute for nondiscrimination in whatever admissions your institution does undertake. Consequently, financial or other considerations which may delay an increase in enrollment cannot excuse eliminating admissions discrimination after June 23, 1973.

4. Describe in detail the steps necessary to eliminate as soon as practicable the obstacles described in item (3), and indicate for each the schedule for taking these steps and the individual(s) directly responsible for doing so.

5. For each class or group of students whose admission commences after June 23, 1973, no policy or practice may result in different treatment of applicants on the basis of sex, unless such treatment is necessitated by an obstacle identified in item (3), and a schedule for eliminating that obstacle is provided.

6. To overcome the effects of past exclusion of students on the basis of sex, your institution must take action to encourage individuals, of the sex discriminated against, to apply to it and must include as part of its plan specific steps designed to encourage such applications. These steps shall include stating your institution's nondiscrimination policy in all publications designed for applicants, students, and counselors of applicants, as well as instituting recruitment programs which emphasize the institution's commitment to enrolling students of the sex previously excluded.

7. Based on information available to your institution, include in the plan estimates of the number of students, by sex, expected to apply for and enter each class during the period covered by the plan.

8. Please include any other information which you believe to be useful in evaluating your institution's elimination of sex discrimination in its admissions.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

JUL 17 1973

Dr. William D. Coats
Superintendent of Schools
Kalamazoo City School District
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001

Dear Dr. Coats:

I am enclosing a copy of the May 29, 1973, complaint filed with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare by Ms. Jo Jacobs on behalf of the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools. As you probably know, the complaint alleges that a district-adopted Houghton-Mifflin Reading Program utilizes textbooks containing sex stereotypes in violation of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX, a copy of which is enclosed, prohibits federally assisted education programs and activities from discriminating on the basis of sex.

I am also enclosing a copy of my response to Ms. Jacobs' complaint. You will note I have informed Ms. Jacobs that until the regulation implementing Title IX is published, the Office for Civil Rights will be unable to determine whether a school district's use of textbooks allegedly containing sexual stereotypes is an action prohibited by Title IX. However, because the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools is an organization apparently created by the Kalamazoo Board of Education, I would appreciate your reviewing the findings and conclusions of this Committee. If, after considering this complaint, you and the Board of Education still intend to adopt the Houghton-Mifflin Reading Program, I would appreciate your furnishing this Office with the reasons why you and the Board do not believe the Committees's complaint is valid. Your response will be incorporated in our case file. Should the Office for Civil Rights subsequently determine that it has the jurisidiction to investigate Ms. Jacobs complaint, then we will evaluate the information and comments which you submit along with the other data and information which might be gathered as part of our investigation. If I, or a member of my staff, can provide you with additional information or assist you in any other way, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

Peter E. Holmes
Director
Office for Civil Rights

Enclosure

CC: Chief State School Office
Regional Civil Rights Director
Ms. Jo Jacobs

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

JUL 17 1973

Ms. Jo Jacobs, Chairperson
Committee to Study Sex Discrimination
Kalamazoo Public Schools
732 Garland
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008

Dear Ms. Jacobs:

Secretary Weinberger has asked me to respond to your May 29, 1973, letter to him concerning a Kalamazoo Public School reading program your committee regards as discriminatory because it uses textbooks containing sex stereotypes. You asked Secretary Weinberger to consider your letter a formal complaint under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.

As you may know, the Office for Civil Rights is responsible for enforcing Title IX which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in federally assisted education programs and activities, including those of local public school districts. The regulation implementing Title IX compliance currently is being drafted, and I anticipate its publication by the end of the summer. However, until the regulation is issued, this Office has adopted, on an interim basis, the following policy relative to complaints which allege Title IX violations. Complaints received by the Office for Civil Rights alleging actions clearly contrary to the provisions of Title IX, will be investigated as soon as staff becomes available. Conversely, those Title IX complaints alleging discriminatory actions which, in this Office's opinion are not clearly subject to the jurisdiction of Title IX, will be retained for review after the Title IX implementing regulation is published.

The regulation, of course, will help define the scope of Title IX enforcement by the Office for Civil Rights. Where that scope does not extend to an alleged action or activity, the complainant will be notified. Where the regulation does prohibit an alleged action or activity, the complaint will be investigated and the complainant notified of the investigative results and any enforcement efforts.

The Office for Civil Rights has not determined at this time if your principal complaint, the use by a school district of textbooks allegedly containing sexual stereotypes, comes within the authority of Title IX. Consequently, the decision to investigate your complaint is being postponed until the Title IX regulations are published.

For your information, however, I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I sent to Dr. William D. Coats, Superintendent, Kalamazoo Public Schools, requesting that he review the findings and conclusions of your committee. As you will note, if, after considering your complaint, Dr. Coats and the Board of Education still intend to adopt the Houghton-Mifflin Reading Program, I have asked him to furnish this Office with the reasons why he and the Board do not believe your committee's complaint is valid.

As soon as the Title IX regulations are published, I, or a member of my staff, will contact you concerning the status of your complaint. Meanwhile, please let me know if I can be of any further assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Peter E. Holmes
Director
Office for Civil Rights

Enclosure

KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT

August 23, 1973

Mr. Peter E. Holmes, Director
Office for Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of the Secretary
Washington, D.C. 20201

Dear Mr. Holmes:

I received your letter of July 17, 1973 and a copy of the May 29, 1973 complaint filed with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare by Ms. Jo Jacobs on behalf of the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools. The complaint by the committee alleges that our district by adopting the Houghton Mifflin Reading System is thereby using textbooks containing sex stereotypes in violation of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. As chief administrative officer representing the Kalamazoo Board of Education and the citizens of Kalamazoo, I do not agree that our recently adopted Houghton Mifflin Reading System or our action to adopt the system is in violation of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, P. L. 92-318.

In your letter you requested that if the Board of Education adopted the Houghton Mifflin Reading System you would like me to furnish your office with reasons why the Board of Education and I do not believe the committee's complaint is valid. The Kalamazoo Board of Education unanimously approved the selection of the Houghton Mifflin Reading System on May 21, 1973 at the recommendation of the Elementary Reading Study Committee. The texts and supplementary materials have been purchased and at this moment are being distributed to the twenty-four elementary schools. In preparation for writing this letter I have had numerous conferences with many people who were responsible for recommending and implementing the new reading program. Based on these conferences I provide you below with considerable background and rationale regarding the final selection of the Houghton Mifflin Reading System.

The formation of an Elementary Reading Study Committee was approved in January, 1972. On March 21 of the same year the planning committee recommended that every elementary (24) school staff select one classroom teacher to represent them. In addition, reading specialists, elementary principals, central administrators, secondary teachers, and special education teachers were appointed to serve on the committee.

Three special groups were requested to send representatives--P.T.A. Mothers' Study Council, Kalamazoo City Education Association, and the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination. The P.T.A. Mothers' Study Council appointed two people, and they were very active on the planning committee as well as on the study committee. The invitation to the sex discrimination group was accepted and a representative was to attend; however, one representative attended only one meeting. A reminder to the committee that no one was attending did not result in representation.

In the fall of 1972 the planning committee asked the sex discrimination committee to present their research about the stereotyping of sex roles in current reading programs. At the November 29, 1972 session Ms. Jan Jeffery made a few brief introductory comments and the meeting was adjourned to Washington Elementary School where Ms. Jacobs presented a slide presentation and narration of the Scott, Foresman Reading Program. The reading study committee was very impressed by the exposure of certain sexist attitudes existing in the series. To some degree, and because of this meeting, a statement was placed in the final text evaluation instrument regarding the stereotyping of sex roles.

During the 1972-73 school year seven reading series were piloted in different schools in Kalamazoo. Teachers used the materials in their classrooms and reported back to subcommittees and to the total study committee. From the seven pilot reading programs three were selected for additional in-depth study by the committee. The three were American Book Company, Lyons & Carnahan, and Houghton Mifflin.

Because the study committee wanted as much input as possible from all sources, they declared a three-week period of "open review" to everyone in the school district to come to a central place to review and give the committee their comments on the series up for evaluation. Letters were sent home to parents asking for their help in making the important decision. The three-week "open review" was very worthwhile, and I am sure the evaluations of the citizens helped greatly in the final decision.

With that brief background about the role of the Elementary Reading Study Committee, the following is my response to some of the concerns that

Ms. Jacobs writes about in her formal complaint to you dated May 29, 1973. In the second paragraph of her cover letter, Ms. Jacobs stated that $30,000.00 would come from state and/or federal funds. I made that statement on the information made available to me at that time. It has now been determined that $2,033.49 has been used from federal funds for this purpose. I further point out that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has given full approval to the Houghton Mifflin Reading Program under the provisions of Title III, Section 306, Elementary/Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended.

Ms. Jacobs alleges in her Preliminary Statement of the Discussion of Preliminary Findings that examination of the reading system adopted by the district took place between May 10 and May 14, 1973 when program materials first became available to them. As I stated previously, materials were available from the time the committee was formed in January, 1972, and members of the committee were most welcome to visit classrooms during the school year 1972-73 to observe students using the materials and talk to teachers and students about the effectiveness of the system.

I now react at some length to the Initial Findings sections of the complaint. The specified shortcomings listed on page 2 under Numeral 1 are limited to the readers for Grades 5 and 6 and to biographical selections and references. Unfortunately, it is an incontrovertible fact that in the past a much larger percentage of men than women achieved lasting fame, undoubtedly because there has been generally in Western cultures of the past the sort of sex discrimination that we now hope to eliminate. We believe the sex discrimination committee should also have considered the biographical sketches of twenty female story authors that are found in *Galaxies* and *Images*. Most of these were written by the authors themselves and consequently protray successful women of the present day. Many of these reveal strong roles these women have played other than that of authorship. For example, children who read these learn that Elaine Konigsberg has a degree in chemistry, has worked as a laboratory researcher, and has even managed a laundry in addition to raising a family. Christine Price lives in Vermont in a house that she herself designed. Anne Huston, besides being a successful movie, stage, and television actress, has organized a company of actors to perform children's plays in New York City. Hazel Wilson reviews children's books for a Washington newspaper. Anita Daniel has traveled all over the world as a feature writer for newspapers and magazines, interviewing kings, statesmen, and Dr. Albert Schweitzer. Shirlee Newman was an ad writer for a department store. Suzanne Martel has been a newspaper reporter. Jeanne Bendick is a co-producer with her husband of educational films. Jean Lee Lathan trained Signal Corps inspectors during World War II.

Although we would not dispute the fact that the percentage of selections in the series containing main characters of the female sex is lower than we wish it were, our own research leads us to question seriously the figures given in the complaint. There are, in the entire series, 192 selections containing main characters classifiable as either male or female. Of these, 125 or 65% have only male main characters; 24 or 12.5% have only female main characters; 43 or 22.5% have both male and female main characters. Thus, 67 or 35% have as main characters one or more females. These discrepancies with the sex discrimination committee's figures may result from the fact that the committee was probably considering only stories as such and not plays or biographies. At any rate, a figure of 35% is much closer to the desired 50% than the committee's figure of 20%.

As for the first preprimer, although the girl Jill is a rather subordinate character, it should be pointed out that she is supposed to be much younger than the boys and indicates strength by being the one to think of a problem solution which, unfortunately and through no fault of hers, does not work out. The Houghton Mifflin Company informs us that for the next revision of this series, this sequence of stories has already been rewritten and re-illustrated to contain two strong girl characters and two boy characters. As for the belated introduction of the word *she*, a major consideration in determining the sequence of word introductions was the relative frequency of words in printed matter; and the word *she* does not at present occur as frequently in printed matter as either *it* or *he*. See the article by Dr. Kucera in the *American Heritage Dictionary* for coorroboration.

The reader entitled *Secrets*, intended for use with average second-graders, admittedly gives the least recognition to women of all the books in the series and it is our understanding that a very thorough overhaul is scheduled for the next major revision on which work has already begun. In this connection it should be pointed out that the nature of textbook publishing does not permit major changes to be made overnight or even in a few months, as teacher's guides and workbooks have to correlate with the readers, and a sensible control has to be exercised over the introduction of new words at the earliest levels.

The example given from the fifth-grade reader is an unfair quote out of context. Anyone who reads the immediately preceding context will see that Deedee and Elmira, two typical fifth grade girls, had been good-naturedly poking fun at the boys. Naturally, the boys--just as typical--poked fun back in kind. This quote is taken from a story, "The Computer Triumphs Again," that should rate high marks from the committee, since it tells of a woman baseball coach who is a decisive leader with a professional approach.

The criticisms made here are limited to a consideration of occupations in which women are portrayed as being engaged. Yet it would seem that the words *abilities*, *traits*, *interests*, and *activities* encompass much more than a consideration of occupations represented. For example, leadership traits are demonstrated by Pam on pages 27-38 and by the organizer of the treasure hunt on pages 39-49 of *Dinosaurs*; by Sue on pages 7-21 in *Rainbows*; by Loo Ling on pages 29-42 of *Signposts*; by both granny and Hetty on pages 259-288 of *Rewards*; by the girl on pages 9-34 and by the grandmother on pages 196-276 of *Fiesta*; by the mother on pages 428-437 of *Kaleidoscope*; by Harriet Tubman on pages 144-155, by the two girls on pages 223-233, and by the woman coach on pages 426-437 of *Images*; and by the grandmother on pages 216-225 of *Galaxies*. Furthermore, the reference to our 1970 Kalamazoo Census, in criticizing the readers for not specifying the occupations of working mothers in such stories as "Saturday Surprise" and "Evan's Corner" seems irrelevant, since that census apparently does not specify the occupations either but merely states what percent of women over sixteen work outside the home.

I am sure that Houghton Mifflin in future revisions and editions will make every effort to achieve a better balance with regard to the occupational representation of women, but they should not be expected to do so to the extent of making the series unrealistic to both children and adults. A basal reading series is much more than a career education series. Its purpose is primarily to teach the reading skills which children will need to read most efficiently and effectively in all phases of their lives as responsible citizens.

Mr. Jack Hamilton, Director of Elementary Instruction, has organized a Materials Review Committee composed of four members of the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools, an elementary teacher, an elementary principal, an instructional specialist, a reading skills teacher, and an instructional media supervisor. This committee completed their fourth meeting on August 8, and I am meeting today with the committee for a progress report. Previous reports coming to me indicate a spirit of cooperation and rapid progress regarding the achievement of goals as decided by the group at its first meeting.

The teacher's guides for the entire program have been studied and appropriate changes in the use of certain words and questions will be presented to teachers during staff inservice meetings. We have received excellent cooperation from the Houghton Mifflin editorial staff, which culminated in a two-day visit to Kalamazoo from Mr. John Ridley, Editor-in-Chief. Their research staff has provided us with updated material that has been recommended by approved book publishers including the Feminist Press. The updated material will be available to staff members when they return this month.

Be assured that I am not antagonistic to the views and work of the sex discrimination study committee. On the contrary the committee has had a positive influence with respect to the elimination of sex discrimination in the community and in this school system. I share the committee's desire to change educational programs and practices so that all young women can develop the basic skills and understandings necessary to compete for jobs and for higher education - in essence, to gain control of their own destiny. From a selfish point of view I have this commitment most personally as it applies to my own three daughters. However, in my opinion, the primary function of a reading program is to teach the skills of reading. The vehicle to teach that skill is the story, and I believe the story should provide relevant and realistic models that portray American society as it is presently structured.

It is my intention to alert teachers, special instructional staff and principals to be aware not only of the type of discrimination that we have been discussing, but of discrimination in all areas of our living together as a community. To be more specific I will ask every principal, both elementary and secondary, to be alert to sex discrimination in all activities, including texts, and to list the elimination of sex discrimination as one of many performance objectives for the coming school year.

Finally, Mr. Holmes, I invite you to observe first hand what is being accomplished in terms of eliminating sex discrimination as well as many other areas in which we feel we are making significant progress. If I can be of further assistance please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

William D. Coats

William D. Coats
Superintendent

## OTHER CORRESPONDENCE

nassp The National Association of Secondary School Principals
1904 Association Drive • Reston, Virginia 22091 • Tel: 703-860-0200

November 12, 1973

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

Thank you for inviting our views on your Bill S.2518, the Women's Education Equity Act, which you recently introduced in the Senate.

Certainly our Association fully supports the purpose of the bill as you state it in your letter, namely, the elimination of discrimination in education on the basis of sex. Discrimination, in the sense of preference of one group of persons over another group on a basis unrelated to the purposes for which the choice is made, is indefensible, and such discrimination on the basis of sex is as unreasonable and distasteful to me and to our members as it is when based on race, religion, or nationality.

I note, however, that the purpose indicated in the bill itself is phrased in a slightly different way (Sec. 2[b]):

> "It is the purpose of this Act, in order to provide educational equity for women in this country..." then setting forth the means to be employed.

If the words "educational equity" are intended to mean the elimination of unfair discrimination, and hence equal opportunity, we are, as already stated fully supportive of this purpose. If, on the other hand, the words "educational equity" are to be defined in some more narrow or arithmetical sense, to be measured only by counting the numbers of persons of each gender in certain positions or at certain salary levels, then NASSP must express some reservations.

Ordinarily, I would not anticipate such a definition of "educational equity" nor find such intent in the bill from reading its text. Some of the material introduced into the record in support of the bill, and in explanation of it, however, has given rise to my concern. It is stated, for example, in support of the finding of discrimination in education that the U. S. Office of Education reported that women comprise 22.5 per cent of the nation's post-secondary faculty and receive average salaries that are almost $2500 less than their male counterparts. While the point is not then elaborated, the implication appears to be that the female teachers are not only being discriminated against in salaries, but in selection as well, because they make up more than half the population, but make up less than one-quarter of the faculties.

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This appears to be over-simplification on both counts. Before the disparity in average salaries can be accepted as evidence of discrimination, one would have to know what the levels of training and experience were of the two groups. As indicated in the article by Andrew Barnes about secondary schools, in which female teachers were reported to have received lower salaries than males, Mr. Barnes notes it was not possible to assess the causes. Similarly in regard to female representation on faculties, the key factor omitted from consideration is the desire of individuals themselves to seek these positions. Without knowing how many women sought employment on faculties and how many were refused, we really cannot know the degree to which their under-representation is the result of discrimination. Women are also severely under-represented in the ranks of dock workers and professional football players, but, so far, no one has alleged that this is the result of discrimination against women. It seems far more likely that women have not chosen these occupations.

While the situation is far less clear-cut in education, it may be that the under-representation of women on college faculties is also due as much to the choices of women as it is to discrimination against them. Certainly, this has been so in the cases of secondary school principals, where again a statistic is cited as evidence of discrimination.

It is certainly likely that there have been cases in which school boards or superintendents have discriminated against women applying for principalships, but we in NASSP know, from our own experience, that all too often women have not sought these positions. This was also reported to Mr. Barnes by school officials in Prince George's and Fairfax Counties in Virginia, and he does not challenge the statement. All too often, in both cases, the low number of female appointments has been the result of the expectation on both sides of seeing the appointment of men based on past experience. To the extent that S.2518 would encourage change in these expectations, our Association would be in full accord.

NASSP has, indeed, exercised its own initiative in this regard by organizing leadership training sessions for assistant principals in which special efforts have been made to involve women members of our Association. Certainly federal support for further training efforts of this kind would be welcome. In short, we are solidly in support of anything which expands equal opportunity for women in education. We think that S.2518 sets forth a number of constructive methods of accomplishing this end.

We would oppose, however, any attempt to use its provisions and resources to force over-simplified and mechanical solutions to a complex problem at the cost of educational quality. If, for example, it were used to seek out and punish educational institutions which did not employ some stated percentage of women for particular positions, or did not pay all incumbents at the same level, regardless of training, experience or demonstrated competence, we would wish to be recorded in opposition.

Again, the NASSP commends you for taking decisive action on discriminatory procedures which could short-change fellow principals. Your continuing leadership in the U. S. Senate in sponsoring appropriate legislation in support of our schools and colleges is very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Owen B. Kiernan
Executive Secretary

OBK:ag

NCAWE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ADMINISTRATIVE WOMEN IN EDUCATION
1815 FORT MYER DRIVE NORTH, ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22209

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November 1, 1973

Senator Walter F. Mondale
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

The National Council of Administrative Women in Education (NCAWE) is happy to respond to your letter of October 26 and to have the opportunity to comment on your bill "Women's Education Equity Act."

Although the NCAWE applauds the purpose of the bill, we believe that as stated it is a little too general in its position.

We see as strengths of the bill the provision for programs for getting in touch with women in the community who have been long out of circulation in the educational world.

The bill's biggest weakness, in our estimation, seems to be the inclusion of plans to examine all text book materials. We are aware that such studies have been done and are available in the community to the school boards.

We see a review of all materials as too expensive and time consuming when there are other methods which can be utilized and which would seem to have greater impact upon women's educational opportunities. For example, we suggest that guidlines for drafting new materials into curricula would be more effective and less expensive.

Our 60 year old organization has been distressed by the decline in numbers and percent of women/in administrative positions (see enclosed copy of article from Washington Post of 10/15/73 based on research of this organization), and therefore, we are delighted that the proposed legislation contains recommendations for greater employment of women in executive and administrative positions at all levels.

NCAWE would like to be included in the list of organizations supporting the goals of S-2518 which you listed in your address to the Senate on October 2, 1973. We would appreciate very much having this letter included in the record of the hearings on this bill.

Sincerely,

C. Fern Ritter, President
NCAWE

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SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA 95064

November 13, 1973

Senator Walter F. Mondale
Attn. Ellen Hoffman
Subcommittee on Children and Youth,
U.S. Senate
443 Old Senate Office Building
Washington D.C.

Dear Senator Mondale:

Sociologists for Women in Society, a national association of over 1,000 sociologists, strongly urges the passage of the Women's Educational Equity Act, S. 2518, a bill designed to help eliminate discrimination in the United States' educational system.

Study after study by sociologists, psychologists and educators have documented the degree of sex discrimination which exists in America's institutions of higher education and elementary and secondary schools. Among the many recent studies which document the sexism which exists in the United States' educational institutions are: Lenore J. Weitzman, Deborah Eifler, Elizabeth Hokada, and Catherine Ross, "Sex-Role Socialization in Picture Books for Preschool Children," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 77, No. 6, May 1972; Betty Frankle Kirschner, "Introducing Students to Women's Place in Society," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 78, No. 4, January 1973; Pamela Roby, "Institutional Barriers to Women Students in Higher Education," in Alice K. Rossi and Ann Calderwood (eds)., Academic Women on the Move, New York: Russell Sage, 1973; and Pamela Roby, "Women and American Higher Education," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 404, November 1972 (copies of the latter two studies by myself are enclosed and you are welcome to include them within the hearings.

The time has now come for social policy makers and social scientists to cease documenting the bruttle facts concerning the sexism which exists in our nation and to begin doing something about them. The Women's Educational Equity Act, S. 2518, would establish a program of grants and contracts to educational institutions, including colleges, universities, state and local education agencies and public and nonprofit groups. These grants could be used in developing new curriculum materials and in developing and distributing textbooks, tests, and other non-sexist materials to be used in vocational education and career counseling.

Sociologists for Women in Society urges the U.S. Senate to act upon and pass S. 2518, a critically needed measure, as quickly as possible.

Respectfully yours,

Pamela Roby,
Co-chair, Social Issues Committee,
Sociologists for Women in Society

NS
BA
NATIONAL SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION
800 State National Bank Plaza • Evanston, Ill 60201 • (312) 869-7730

Address reply to:
1120 Connecticut Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

November 13, 1973

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
United States Senate
443 Old Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Fritz:

Thank you for your kind letter and request for our comments on S. 2518, the "Women's Education Equity Act."

NSBA is indeed supportive of the general concept of equality of educational opportunities for all. We have been concerned with some of the practices within the educational community as they affect women. Our president, Barbara Reimers, has appointed a special NSBA committee on the status of women in education. We are generally in support of S. 2518, but do have some problems with the bill in its current form.

Sec. 2(a) states that Congress finds that present education programs are "inequitable as they relate to women." While inequity does exist, to state as this implies that all programs are inequitable is a complete condemnation of what steps have been taken of a corrective nature. We would therefore change the section to indicate that inequities do exist.

Section 3 is acceptable in its current form. We do support the establishment of the council in the Office of Education rather than in any other agency. We would change Sec. 3(e)(1) so that the council shall advise both the Commissioner and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Section 4 provides us with the most problems. First, programs seem to be shifted to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, rather than to Commissioner of Education. We prefer the Commissioner of Education handle all educational programs including those for women. Please bear in mind that any program administered by the Commissioner of Education comes within the purview of the General Provisions Act and thus is somewhat protected from political chicanery.

Branch Offices: 1120 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 833-1740
152 Cross Road, Waterford, Connecticut 06385 • (203) 442-0233

Sec. 4(e) should be changed so that applications are made to the Commissioner. We would also delete provisions in the paragraph giving the Administration regulatory authority. However, we would prefer that any program for application by local school districts be handled through a state plan rather than through direct application. I will deal with that problem again when I discuss Section 11.

Sec. 4(e)(3) appears to be a maintenance of effort provision but it does not make sense for a program as small as this one. The concept of "supplement not supplant" is very necessary for a large formula grant program such as Title I of ESEA, but not for a project grant program.

Sec. 4(f) states that any organization or group seeking funds must submit an annual report to the Secretary of federal funds expended. This provision is too broad if it includes all funds. There are already requirements for reports under the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEO-5) as well as reports from various other federal programs. Indeed, we seem bent on a myriad of overlapping reporting systems. This sub-section should be limited to a report on funds used under the program.

We applaud Section 5 as an absolute necessity.

Section 6 gives us a great deal of concern. A school district's use of funds are limited by a large number of provisions, reports and controls under Section 4. However, the authority of the Secretary under Section 6 has really no limits and the recipients are under no control. We therefore object to the inclusion of Section 6 in the bill.

We have no objections to Sections 7 - 10 inclusive and indeed we like Section 8.

Section 11 does raise some questions for it provides for a single appropriation for all applicants in all classifications. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare has complete authority to transfer money between and among programs. We would support a separate appropriation for elementary and secondary education, another for higher education and a third for private non-profit agencies or organizations. School districts do not have the funds to hire experts in grantsmenship. To place local education in competition with higher education means that for all practical purposes school districts are excluded from the program and if we really wish to make enroads on descrimination, we should begin in the early school years.

Sincerely,

Gus
August W. Steinhilber
Assistant Executive Director, Federal Relations

AWS/lar

# NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL ARTICLES

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 15, 1973]

## WOMEN LOSE POWER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(By Andrew Barnes)

Women are vanishing from the administrative leadership of American public schools. Scarcely more than one high school principal in a hundred is a woman. Even in elementary schools, where 85 per cent of teachers are women, 80 per cent of the principals are men.

Education has traditionally been a woman's field. As recently as the early 1950s, women were in charge of most grade schools and their numbers were substantial among the administrators of high schools and junior highs.

Explanations of why men are coming to dominate the schools start with the higher teaching salaries that have attracted more and more men into the profession over the last 20 years.

Men rise quickly to the top, concludes a successful woman administrator, as "a matter of attitude."

Another top official, a man, calls it "typical, unthinking chauvinism."

Whatever its cause, the pattern of unequal advancement is clear from the figures:

Of nearly 16,000 senior high school principals in America, only 222, or 1.4 per cent, are women. Two years ago it was three per cent. In 1950 it was six per cent.

In 1950, 56 per cent of elementary principals were women. Only 19.6 per cent are women today.

It does not appear that women are becoming less qualified. During this same period, women earning advanced degrees, one of the main qualifications for advancement, multiplied sixfold.

The change to male leadership has come somewhat more slowly to the Washington area, where women still hold 51 percent of the elementary principalships. In the city, 70 per cent of grade school principals are women.

In the Washington suburbs, however, only one of 70 high school principals is a woman, and only five of 100 junior high principals.

Across the country, the last 25 years have seen the elimination of nearly 60,000 schools, mostly small and rural and headed by women, which is one reason the number of women administrators has shrunk.

Perhaps the most dramatic trend has been the number of men entering teaching. In 1940, 22 per cent of teachers in the U.S. were men. By 1968, the proportion had grown to 31 per cent.

Men are concentrated at the high school level, where they have been the majority since 1957–58, according to the National Education Association. Men now are 54 per cent of high school teachers. Women still make up 85 per cent of the elementary teaching force.

The National Council of Administrative Women in Education, having studied these figures, concludes:

"The patterns of discrimination are pervasive and many women fall under their influence. They too become convinced that a job with real growth potential would be too demanding."

In a report entitled "Where are the women superintendents?" the council describes "unwritten policies" excluding women in belief that men are the "natural leaders" because men have families to support, women are too emotional and boys need father figures.

Discrimination is seldom recognized or acknowledged, the report finds, because men run school systems "and successful men, as well as unsuccessful men, have difficulty in understanding the intricacies of sex discrimination."

As sex discrimination comes to be more widely discussed, uncritical acceptance of it will diminish, and protests by local women's rights groups have begun to raise the issue around the country.

Barbara Sizemore, Washington's newly appointed school superintendent and the highest ranking woman local school official in the country, fears the situation may get worse because school enrollments are falling and teaching jobs are hard to get.

"Whenever there's a scarcity of jobs, women are out," says Mrs. Sizemore.

Local school personnel officials say they are seeking women to promote. "We get very few women applying for principalships at the secondary levels," says Carl McMillan of Prince George's. The capable women exist but do not apply, says John Schreck of Fairfax.

Discrimination that keeps women from promotion is explicitly illegal, and has been since 1972. The regulations and forms spelling out what the government intends to do have not yet been published, however.

Until that happens, the department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will not have a comprehensive view of the situation.

"It may be that there is rampant sex discrimination," says Peter Holmes of the Office for Civil Rights at HEW, but there will have to be proven cases for his office to act.

Legal proof will be made more complicated by the fact that, unlike the case of racially segregated school systems in the South, there have been no laws or rules stating a policy or preference for men.

It may take as much as 10 years for the legal ban on sex discrimination to lead to the "understanding, awareness and moral obligation" that can bring real change, Holmes estimates.

Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.), a prime mover in amending anti-discrimination legislation so it would cover school employees, says it is her belief the main qualification for promotion in schools is to "wear trousers and coach athletics."

In the long run advancement for women may open up, but meanwhile more jobs in other fields are opening to women and the schools may "end up worse than before," Mrs. Green said.

Sex discrimination, she says ,"is one of the reasons we're in all the trouble we're in. The best women leave, because they know there's no chance for promotion."

WOMEN PRINCIPALS IN THE WASHINGTON AREA

| Locality | High school | Junior high | Elementary |
|---|---|---|---|
| District of Columbia | 2 of 16 | 7 of 31 | 78 of 112 |
| Montgomery | 0 of 24 | 4 of 31 | 58 of 144 |
| Prince George's | 0 of 17 | 1 of 41 | 88 of 160 |
| Arlington | 0 of 4 | 0 of 7 | 6 of 27 |
| Alexandria | 0 of 3 | 0 of 3 | 9 of 14 |
| Fairfax | 1 of 22 | 0 of 18 | 58 of 126 |
| Total | 3 of 86 | 12 of 131 | 297 of 583 |
| Percent | 3.5 | 10 | 51 |

[From the New York Times, Jan. 8, 1972]

## MOTHERS CARRY WOMEN'S LIB MESSAGE TO GRADE SCHOOL

(By Lisa Hammel)

Women's lib begun to show up in the elementary grades.

A group of mothers whose children go to the Woodward School, in the Clinton Hill section of Brooklyn have organized themselves into a group called the Sex Roles Committee. The private, co-educational school is described by its director as "a little left of center" in the spectrum of orthodox to experimental.

The committee, whose 15 to 20 active members are mothers of children up through the middle grades, may be the only one of its kind around at the moment. Since it began in September, 1970, it has been bringing to the attention of the teachers, the ways in which children, but mostly girls, are limited through social and traditional attitudes that are passed on, or reinforced, by the school.

The mothers say that almost every phase of schooling contributes to this in some way: the curriculum, the reading material, the ways in which children are encouraged—or not encouraged—to relate to play, to work and to express themselves. The mothers also believe that sex-typing is further influenced by the unconscious attitudes of teachers.

On a recent evening, nine members of the committee—most of them women's lib members—met for one of their monthly meetings, and they made it clear at the outset that they did not identify themselves either by their husbands' first names or by their husband's profession. And almost all preferred the honoric, Ms.

Also at the meeting were Margaret (Meg) Bluhm, a teacher at the school who acts liaison between the group and the school staff, and Ruth Fishman, the assistant director. The meeeting took place at the home of the school's director, Gertrude Goldstein, in whom the group has found a sympathetic, but cautious, ear.

### OPENING THE FLOODGATES

"At first, we were worried," said the director, "about how much the parents would want to take over the running of the school if they were invited in."

"But we realized," said Vivian Ubell, mother of a girl of 8 and another 2, "that ultimately decisions about the school were up to the staff. When dealing with them, we always put on those kid gloves. . . ."

Notable by their absence, however, were the fathers of the children at the Woodward School. Once, when fathers were invited to a meeting, they took over. They were not invited again.

What are some of the problems that little girls, like their mothers before them, are likely to encounter?

The mothers discovered, first of all, that their small children had already formed a strong sense of sex role differentiation at home, and brought this with them when they started kindergarten.

"In the kindergarten," said Andrea Ostrum, the mother, of two small boys and a 7-year-old-girl, "there were two rooms. The blocks, trucks and all the doing toys were in one room; the dolls and ornamental things were in another room. I said to my daughter one day, 'Do you have a girls' room and a boys' room?' And Eva said, 'Oh, no, the girls are allowed to go into the boys' room, too'!"

When the girls did manage, generally with teacher intervention, to get near the blocks, the mothers reported, they built simple, low structures, which more often than not turned out to be a kind of container for their dolls, while the boys built more complex structures that were immediately praised by the teachers for size and ingenuity of design.

"But this year," said Vivian Ubell, "Jennifer came home and announced she had built a city!"

Conversely, a little boy who wanted to play with dolls would have just as hard a time of it.

"My son," said one mother, who declined to be identified, "had a doll that he loved a lot and wanted to take to school when he was in kindergarten last year. But he was afraid the girls would tease him. The first day in school, this year, he took the doll with him and openly hugged it and kissed it."

What are some of the other ways in which sex-typing shows up?

Girls will read books about boys and take male parts in plays, but boys are very reluctant to change roles. A girl who is a natural leader may have particular difficulty.

In a lower grade class, one of the mothers reported, the children were putting on a play about astronauts. One girl did all the scenery and costumes, but when she wanted to play an astronaut, the boys demurred. The teacher intervened, and she played the part.

### DOWNGRADING OF EXPECTATIONS

Performance expectations are sometimes downgraded for girls, the mothers said. The girls at Woodward are taught woodworking (and the boys have cooking), but a girl is just not expected to "hammer the nail straight," said Mimi Meyers, mother of a 6-year-old girl and 3-year-old boy.

"The teacher seemed to feel it was enough that the girls came to the woodworking class," said Brett Vuolo, who has a boy, 11, and a girl, 8.

In mathematics and science, the girls generally do better at first, Gertrude Goldstein reported, but then "start dropping out" intellectually as they approach adolescence.

"According to a report we read," said Leah Matalon, mother of two small boys, "as the children get older, there is a change in aspiration and interests. The boys' worlds widen, and the girls' get narrower."

When the mothers first approached the school, Gertrude Goldstein said, "Our reaction was 'who, me?' But now I think even the most resistant staff member has moved. I think even if people are not ready to be different, they're ready to act differently. I think they now see many instances of sexism where they didn't see it before."

Among things under consideration for the future at school are a women's studies course (a kind of feminist equivalent of black studies); a special section on women in the school library; a feminist newsletter for the school, and consciousness-raising with the girls.

Both the mothers and the staff representatives said that their work had produced changes, although it was hard to tell whether it came from school or the parents' home influence.

Mimi Meyers reported that now when her 6-year-old daughter plays house, "she goes out to work, and instructs the daddy to cook dinner."

The youngsters themselves, however, do not consider all of this concern an unalloyed blessing.

"That's the seventh time you've talked about women's lib this year," a little girl said testily to Meg Bluhm one day.

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[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 9, 1973]

## SEXISM AND SHOOLS—FEMINISTS AND OTHERS NOW ATTACK SEX BIAS IN NATION'S CLASSROOMS

### GIRL BARRED BY SHOP CLASS SUES AND WINS; TEXTBOOKS ASSAILED AS MALE-ORIENTED—"I NEED 2 STRONG-ARMED BOYS"

(By Everett Groseclose)

Homeville, Ohio.—When 12-year-old Theresa Hickey started getting ready for school a few weeks ago, she ran into a problem. The folks at Black River Junior High School wouldn't let her enroll.

At least they wouldn't let her enroll in industrial arts, a class involving the use of tools, woodworking and so on. Instead, officials at the school informed her that because she was a girl, she was required to study home economics.

"That just made me sick," says Theresa, a well-mannered seventh-grader who lives on a farm in this rural community about 50 miles southwest of Cleveland. "What I really wanted to learn about was how to use tools, a hammer and saw, things like that. After all, I've been learning how to cook and keep house since I was in a high chair."

Theresa's father, a lawyer who practices in Cleveland, wrote to the school board asking that Theresa be permitted to take industrial arts. He got a flat rejection. When all else failed, Theresa sought help from Women's Law Fund Inc., a year-old nonprofit group in Cleveland active in women's rights. Acting on Theresa's behalf, the group sued in federal district court, and the school board quickly reversed its policy.

Larry E. Rodenberger, superintendent of the Black River School District and a defendant in Theresa's suit, says, "The sex equality thing is having a big impact in the school, particularly as far as staffing and physical facilities are concerned. We're having to rethink just about everything we've traditionally done. The problem is gigantic."

Indeed, sex discrimination in public education is coming under attack in school systems across the country. Groups of feminists, parents, teachers and youngsters themselves are pressing for change on a variety of fronts. The issues range from classes that exclude one or the other sex to casual remarks made by teachers to athletic program funding and to the fairness of materials used in the classrooms.

### "BOYS, NOT BLONDES, HAVE MORE FUN"

Almost no one denies that a problem exists. "Like it or not, in the past the educational system has tended to point girls to certain types of careers and boys toward others," says John C. Pittenger, Pennsylvania's Secretary of Education who last year ordered school officials to end all discriminatory activities. "On balance, I think it's accurate to say that education hasn't been fair to anybody—not to boys or girls, their mothers and fathers, or to teachers and administrators."

Fairness is what the fuss is all about. Much of the current controversy involves texts and other teaching materials. In a number of locations, parents, teachers and others are objecting because they feel teaching materials are unfairly biased to show the actions and achievements of boys.

"The over-riding message is that boys, not blondes, have more fun," says Jo Jacobs, the mother of three children in Kalamazoo, Mich., who is heading a crusade aimed at bringing elementary reading texts published by Houghton Mifflin Co. into "balance." "Reading the books," she adds, "you can't help but get the feeling that a boy is the better thing to be."

Among other things, Mrs. Jacobs and other members of the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools, complained that the books showed only 40 occupations for women, compared with 215 for men. "Throughout the books, the major female character is mother," Mrs. Jacobs says. "She's always available, always at home, always cooking or mending, always ready to kiss and make things better. They totally ignored the fact that half of the mothers with children aged 6 to 17 work."

Mrs. Jacobs' group was formed to advise the school system on sex discrimination matters. It filed an administrative complaint earlier this year with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare alleging violation of a federal law prohibiting sex discrimination in schools receiving federal funds. The complaint came when the Kalamazoo schools bought the Houghton Mifflin books for use during the current school year.

### CHANGING TEXTS IN KALAMAZOO

After filing its complaint and with the cooperation of the local school system, the group labored throughout the summer annotating and rewriting major portions of the texts and teachers' manuals to make more mention of girls, their activities and their accomplishments. The reworked texts—cut up and with supplemental material pasted in—are currently in use in the Kalamazoo schools.

"We could have told this committee, this group of parents, to go to hell, but we didn't," says Morris J. Hamilton, director of elementary education in Kalamazoo. "We chose, instead, to work with them."

Neither the Kalamazoo schools nor Mrs. Jacobs' group places much blame on Houghton Mifflin because they agree that the texts involved are among the best on the market. The problem, they say, is that almost all texts contain sex bias. John T. Ridley, a Houghton Mifflin editor, says one of the problems for pulishing concerns and other suppliers is that not enough unbiased material is available for use in books. Mr. Ridley adds that many of the changes written into the texts in Kalamazoo "will be incorporated into future editions."

A major reason behind such changes is an upsurge of interest on the part of parents and educators in sex discrimination and its possible effects on the aspirations, ambitions and mental outlooks of children. In fact, school officials in almost every part of the country concede that they're under growing pressure, particularly from parents.

Typical of the groups springing up is one in Seattle that calls itself "Citizens for Elimination of Sex Role Stereotyping in Public Education." According to Sally Mackle, the mother of two preschoolers and a substitute high-school teacher, the group got going last January when another mother and a community organizer "got to discussing the subject."

David Wagoner, a lawyer in Seattle who's president of the Board of Education, recalls his first contact with the group. "First off, they wrote us a letter expressing a number of concerns about sex discrimination," he says. "We invited them to meet with us, and they showed us slides of books we were using in the school system. They went into the idea that the books showed men in all the interesting jobs in business and the professions, while women were shown mainly in the home." As a result of the complaints, a major study of sex role stereotyping in the Seattle schools has been launched. "We're looking at everything—from teacher attitudes to textbooks—from kindergarten through grade 12," says Dave Kroft, director of staff development for the Seattle schools.

### THE MALES SERVE THE COFFEE

In Seattle and a number of other locations, teacher attitude is a serious concern. "We've had tremendous sexism. It was widespread and commonly practiced," says Andrades Smith, coordinator of counseling services at Community High School in Ann Arbor, Mich. "It went all the way from the hiring of teachers and administrators to career counseling of students and everyday things in the classrooms." Partly as a result of pressure brought by militant feminists both inside and outside the school system, training seminars for teachers were organized earlier this year to explore subtle and overt sex discrimination at Community High. In addition to talks by a female lawyer and other professionals, the seminars featured a lesson in role reversal: Male teachers served the coffee. Similar seminars are planned for all teachers in the Ann Arbor School system during the current school year.

On a related front, athletic programs are under attack in several spots. In Waco, Texas, for instance, the Women's Equality Action League, a women's rights group, filed a complaint earlier this year alleging sex discrimination in athletics and other areas. The complaint, which is stiffly disputed by officials in the school system, contends that $250,000 is allotted annually to a variety of boys' athletic programs, while girls are permitted to play only tennis, with an allotment of $970.

Several other aspects of educational funding, particularly at the high school and college levels, appear certain to be challenged within the next few months. Women's Law Fund, the Cleveland group, plans to file a federal lawsuit today against a Big 10 university, alleging sex discrimination in the allocation of financial aid. Rita Reuss, chief counsel at the Women's Law Fund, declines to identify the university involved. She contends, "It looks like it's all tied to the jock psychology—the idea that men are the only ones who do things, who have to earn a living. So they're the ones who get most of the scholarship money."

### A SEXIST REQUEST

Perhaps the most persuasive element in the drive to end sex discrimination in the schools is action on their own behalf by youngsters, such as Theresa Hickey, the Ohio farm girl who took her case to court. Sharon Bodensteiner, a history teacher in Seattle's Cleveland High School tells of the time about a year ago when three girl students approached her to express their concern about sex discrimination. One result was the establishment of a six-week "minicourse" in feminism; the course will be offered again this school year.

Jean King, a woman lawyer in Ann Arbor, tells of the time a few weeks ago when her 14-year-old daughter, Nancy, "came home from school really worked up about sexist remarks in the classroom," Mrs. King says that when one teacher, a man, asked for "two strongarmed boys" to volunteer to carry books, Nancy stood up at once and declared the request to be sexist.

"It implied that girls weren't capable of carrying books," Mrs. King says. Two other girls promptly sided with Nancy and volunteered for the chores. Taking on teachers on a head-to-head basis can be risky, of course, but Mrs. King adds that "the kids are very smart about this kind of thing." Nancy, she says, "chose her target well—she was careful to pick a fairly young and with-it guy." Two girls ended up carrying the books.

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## END TO SEX DISCRIMINATION URGED IN DENVER SCHOOLS

(By Alan Cunningham)

Members of a task force from the Denver chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) urged school Supt. Louis J. Kishkunas Wednesday to start putting an end to alleged sex discrimination in the public schools.

Kishkunas told them he was dedicated to "justice for all groups" and promised to help them get a chance to express their views at the next board meeting, set for Nov. 8.

Board member Kay Schomp attended the meeting, along with the superintendent and five members of the NOW task force.

After the meeting, the task force members and Mrs. Schomp told reporters they'd been pleased with Kishkunas' response, although they stressed that they expected no miracles and felt the meeting had been a tiny step along a hard road.

The NOW members told the superintendent they wanted to begin changing ways in which stereotyped roles for girls and women are perpetuated in textbooks, the curriculum and the promotion policies of the Denver schools.

### "WOMAN" JOBS

They noted that textbooks used here—as in virtually every American classroom—often tend to show boys as smarter, stronger and braver than girls, relegating female characters to such "woman" jobs as wife, mother, nurse or teacher.

They claimed women seldom get top administrative jobs in the Denver Public Schools.

They urged that the district set up a women's advisory group "to assist the administration and the school board in ferreting out all vestiges of sexism," according to a printed statement given the press after the meeting.

"He encouraged us to move forward on all fronts," said Karen Raffety, a former teacher who now works for the Denver Classroom Teachers Association (DCTA).

The DCTA is one of eight groups—including the women's caucuses from both major political parties—which have pledged themselves to supporting the aims of the NOW education task force.

### ACTION PROGRAM

One aim of the group is to persuade the school board to adopt an affirmative action program for eliminating sex discrimination. The task force members said they hope to convince the board that it eventually will face pressures from the federal government—and from the courts—if it doesn't adopt such a plan on its own.

"We do not wish to go through litigation," said task force member Marilyn Grant.

The NOW members said they made it clear to Kishkunas that they would be working hard from now on to see that his verbal commitment to justice was followed by meaningful deeds.

"We told him we accepted his sincerity," said another task force member, Barrie Grant. "But we will not be denied."

The two Grants are wife and husband, but Marilyn Grant said she didn't wish to have "Mrs." affixed to her name.

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[From the Chronicle of Higher Education, June 4, 1973]

## DISSATISFIED WITH PROGRESS—MORE AND MORE WOMEN TURN TO COURTS TO PRESS CLAIMS ON COLLEGES

(By Cheryl M. Fields)

An increasing number of women who feel that they have been victims of discrimination by institutions of higher education are testing the courts' powers to redress their grievances.

Dissatisfied with the results of their colleges' internal grievance procedures and frustrated by the slow pace of affirmative-action plans, women have filed law suits under a number of different local, state, and federal statutes.

Although few suits have completed the trip through the courts, some women's rights advocates predict that litigation will play an increasingly important part in the campaign for equal treatment of women in academic admissions and employment.

"With the exception of the continuing financial problems plaguing colleges, I think women's use of the courts to resolve their grievances will be the second largest issue in the coming years because almost every institution in the country is vulnerable," said Bernice Sandler, director of the Association of American College's Project on the Status and Education of Women.

### PROGRESS MAY BE SLOW

Progress is likely to be slow, however, several attorneys representing female clients agreed, because many judges are loath to enter the academic sphere and the complexities of its hiring and employment practices.

Several lawyers also said that unless federal agencies step up the pace of their enforcement of anti-bias laws and regulations on the campus, courts increasingly will be forced to step in.

An additional factor is that legislation passed last year has opened new pathways to the courts for women with complaints of discrimination.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 placed academic and professional employees of colleges under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in employment and fringe benefits. The act is enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

In addition, last year's higher education act brought professional academic employees under jurisdiction of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, which is administered by the Department of Labor's wage and hour division.

If complaints filed under those two acts find discrimination that cannot be resolved by conciliation or voluntary compliance, colleges, accused of bias can be taken to court.

### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN SUE

The Department of Justice, at the request of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, also can bring suits against universities accused of violating provisions of last year's higher education act that forbid sex-based discrimination against students and employees "under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

Similar suits are possible if institutions are accused of violating an anti-bias provision of the 1971 Health Manpower Act. That provision forbids sex discrimination against students and employees of institutions with health-training programs that receive money under parts of the Public Health Service Act.

### MORE THAN 500 COMPLAINTS

In addition to law suits already filed, George R. LaNoue, assistant to the director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, recently estimated that more than 500 job-bias complaints involving institutions of higher education have been filed with the E.E.O.C. About 45 per cent involve sex discrimination, he said.

A number of complaints of unfair treatment of women on campus reportedly are under investigation by E.E.O.C. officials now. Some of the complaints are expected to wind up in court within the next few months.

The Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association, for example, has been the subject of several complaints to the commission. The American Nursing Association, the National Organization of Women, and others have charged that institutes carrying T.I.A.A. benefit plans discriminate against women by paying them lower monthly retirement benefits than men receive, despite equal contributions by men and women.

Sources in the women's movement predict the issue eventually will be settled in the courts, and the Women's Equity Action League has filed a blanket complaint against every institution that carries a T.I.A.A. plan.

One women's group also is considering filing suit to seek a temporary restraining order barring H.E.W. from distributing federal funds to an institution or institutions which, after investigation by H.E.W., failed to produce an acceptable affirmative-action plan, or failed to follow the one they submitted to the government.

Another court case that is causing concern to some academic women's leaders is that brought by Marco DeFunis, Jr. Mr. DeFunis, a white person, has asked the U.S. Supreme Court to review a Washington state supreme court ruling that, in effect, said it was permissible for universities to use preferential admissions policies to increase the number of minority-group students they enroll.

One women's leader said she feared that if universities were allowed to use preferential admissions without a specific showing of discrimination against the individual or minority group involved, the decision could pave the way for quotas, rather than the admissions and hiring goals.

A legal source specializing in admissions law said, however, that if the Supreme Court were to uphold the Washington state ruling, it could do so without giving support to the use of quotas. He indicated that such a ruling could conceivably aid faculty women pressing colleges to undertake special efforts to hire and recruit more women.

The following examples of current cases indicate the types of law suits that women are filing.

### 'PATTERN OF SEX DISCRIMINATION'

The New York City Corporation Counsel is appealing a ruling by a New York state supreme court judge that reversed a finding of a "pattern and practice of sex discrimination" at Pace College. The New York City Commission on Human Rights had found Pace guilty of discrimination after Valentine Winsey, an associate professor of social sciences, filed a compliant under city human rights ordinances. She charged that because she was female, she had been denied promotion and later was given a terminal contract that denied her tenure.

The commission had ordered Ms. Winsey reinstated as an assistant professor and directed that she be paid $22,650 in back pay, retroactive salary increments, plus $1,500 damages for "mental pain and humiliation."

Pace appealed and last September a state supreme court judge upheld the appeal, saying that although the commission had shown that some faculty members were reluctant to hire women, "there was definitely insufficient evidence to show that Pace practices any kind of intentional discrimination against women. . . ."

### PRIORITY IN PROMOTIONS

The Pennsylvania State Human Relations Commission has issued a "cease-and-desist" order in the case of Betsy Curry, an assistant professor of English at Slippery Rock State College who charged that, even though she had top priority, she was denied a promotion in 1971 because she was a woman. After filing charges of sex discrimination with the state commission under the Pennsylvania Human Relations Act, she further charged that she was fired in retaliation.

The state commission ordered Ms. Curry reinstated with back pay for academic 1971–72, plus interest. It also ordered her promoted to associate professor. The Pennsylvania attorney general's office later refused the college's request to appeal the case.

### 14TH AMENDMENT RIGHTS

A U.S. District Court was to decide June 1 whether to grant a preliminary injunction in one of two suits currently pending against the University of Pittsburgh. The decision on the injunction was due in the case of Sharon L. Johnson, an assistant professor of biochemistry in the university's school of medicine.

She is seeking the injunction to prevent the university from ending her employment, pending a court settlement of her request for reinstatement with tenure, back-pay, and $1.5-million in damages to her professional standing due to the university's refusal to grant her tenure.

The 3rd U.S. Court of Appeals recently ordered the district court to hold more complete hearings in another suit against the university. The suit was filed by Ina Braden, a former assistant professor of dentistry at the university, on behalf of all women employed in professional positions at the university.

The suit alleges that consistent job bias by the university against women violates their 1st and 14th Amendment rights.

### GENERAL STATISTICS INADEQUATE

The 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals recently let stand a district court decision against an associate professor of English and linguistics at Texas Tech University. Lola Beth Green had filed suit seeking an order directing the university to halt alleged discrimination against her because she was a woman.

She charged that because she was female she had been under-paid, had been left in an associate professorship since 1959, and had been refused appointment as a professor of English despite two favorable votes by the English faculty recommending her promotion.

In its decision, the district court refused to let her pursue a class-action suit, said the statistics she presented to show bias in the university's treatment of women could not be used to prove an individual case, and relied on university arguments that her sex was not the reason for denying her promotion.

A district court in California is delaying a preliminary hearing in a suit filed by the League of Academic Women at the University of California at Berkeley charging that the university's employment practices discriminate against women.

The judge delayed ruling in the suit, which alleges violation of the 14th Amendment and California state bias laws, until after the University and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare negotiate an affirmative-action plan acceptable to the government. The suit seeks a preliminary motion setting temporary hiring ratios prior to a complete hearing of the case.

### BACK PAY SOUGHT

A pre-trial hearing has been postponed until August in a suit filed by nine women at Florida State University charging that the University system's board of regents, and the state board of education have consistently allowed discrimination against women in hiring, pay, and promotion.

Charging violation of the 14th Amendment and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the plaintiffs are seeking an injunction to prohibit such discriminatory practices. They also seek $1-million in back pay and compensatory damages, plus reasonable reimbursement for attorney's fees.

### MATERNITY LEAVE

Two cases on mandatory maternity leave that the U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to hear during its fall term may have an impact on colleges. Three public school teachers have charged that the mandatory-leave policies of their school boards violate their 14th Amendment rights to equal protection. The 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled against one of the teachers, Susan Cohen of Richmond, Va., while the 6th U.S. Court of Appeals ruled in favor of two other teachers in Cleveland, Jo Carol La Fleur and Elizabeth Ann Nelson.

### ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERSHIP

After one hearing on a preliminary motion, a U.S. District Court has ordered more information developed in a suit filed by several women's groups against the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the National Institutes of Health. The complaint charged that women are discriminated against in appointments to the N.I.H. advisory panels that set policy and determine grant awards. The suit seeks a halt in further appointments of men to the public advisory bodies until discriminatory policies against women are eliminated.

Officials of H.E.W. asked that the suit be dismissed. They said strenuous efforts have been made to recruit more women and that the percentage of women named to the advisory panels has been climbing.

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[From Sports Illustrated, May 28, 1973]

## SPORT IS UNFAIR TO WOMEN

AMERICA INVESTS A BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR IN ATHLETIC PROGRAMS WITH THE CONVICTION THAT GAMES ARE GOOD FOR PEOPLE, DEVELOPING SOUND MINDS AND BODIES. BUT THE FEMALE HALF OF THE POPULATION HAS NEVER GOTTEN A RUN FOR ITS MONEY. NOW MANY PARENTS ARE BECOMING EXERCISED, SCHOOLS ARE GROWING INCREASINGLY CONCERNED AND BIG CHANGES ARE IN THE OFFING

(By Bil Gilbert and Nancy Williamson)

There may be worse (more socially serious) forms of prejudice in the United States, but there is no sharper example of discrimination today than that which operates against girls and women who take part in competitive sports, wish to take part, or might wish to if society did not scorn such endeavors. No matter what her age, education, race, talent, residence or riches, the female's right to play is severely restricted. The funds, facilities, coaching, rewards and honors allotted women are grossly inferior to those granted men. In many places absolutely no support is given to women's athletics, and females are barred by law, regulation, tradition or the hostility of males from sharing athletic resources and pleasures. A female who persists in her athletic interests, despite the handicaps and discouragements, is not likely to be congratulated on her sporting desire or grit. She is more apt to be subjected to social and psychological pressures, the effect of which is to cast doubt on her morals, sanity and womanhood.

As things stand, any female—the 11-year-old who is prohibited from being a Little League shortstop by Act of Congress; the coed basketball player who cannot practice in her university's multimillion-dollar gymnasium; the professional sportswoman who can earn only one-quarter what her male counterpart receives for trying to do the same work—has ample reasons for believing that the American system of athletics is sexist and hypocritical. There is a publicly announced, publicly supported notion that sports are good for people, that they develop better citizens, build vigorous minds and bodies and promote a better society. Yet when it comes to the practice of what is preached, females—half this country's population—find that this credo does not apply to them. Sports may be good for people, but they are considered a lot gooder for male people than for female people.

Opportunities for women are so limited that it is a cop-out to designate females as second-class citizens of the American sports world. "Most of us feel that being second-class citizens would be a great advance," says Doris Brown. A faculty member at Seattle Pacific College, Brown has devoted 15 years to becoming the best U.S. female distance runner. She has been on two Olympic teams, won six national and five world cross-country championships and set a variety of national and international records in distances from a mile up. Despite her talent and success she has had to pay for nearly all her training and, until recently, all her travel expenses. She was forced to resign from a job at a junior high school because the principal did not believe in women teachers devoting a lot of time to outside athletic participation. She has received far less recognition than male runners who cannot match her record of accomplishment. "Second-class citizenship sounds good," says Brown, "when you are accustomed to being regarded as fifth-class." This is not the whine of a disgruntled individual but an accurate description of the state of things in sports. To document the situation, consider the following:

### MONEY TALKS

- In 1969 a Syracuse, N.Y. school board budgeted $90,000 for extracurricular sports for boys; $200 was set aside for girls. In 1970 the board cut back on the athletic budget, trimming the boy's program to $87,000. Funds for the girls' interscholastic program were simply eliminated.
- New Brunswick (N.J.) Senior High School offered 10 sports for boys and three for girls in 1972, with the split in funds being $25,575 to $2,250 in favor of the boys. The boys' track team was allowed $3,700 last spring, while the girls' squad received $1,000. This might be considered a better-than-average division of money except that 70 New Brunswick students competed on the girls' team and only 20 on the boys'.
- The Fairfield area school district in rural south-central Pennsylvania is small 800 students are enrolled from kindergarten through 12th grade. Nevertheless, in 1972–73 the school district budgeted $19,880 for interscholastic athletics. Of this $460 was actually spent on girls' sports, $300 of it on a "play day" in the area and $160 on a volleyball team, which had a one-month season. Boys in the school district are introduced to competitive sport as early as the fifth grade with the organization of soccer and basketball teams that are coached by members of the high school athletic staff.
- In New York a woman officiating a girls' high school basketball game is paid $10.50, a man receives $21 for a boys' game. Throughout the country and with few exceptions, women who coach girls' sports in secondary schools receive between one-third and one-half the salary of men who coach comparable sports for boys. The woman coach often is expected to supervise candy sales, cooking contests and raffles to raise money to purchase the girls' uniforms and pay travel expenses.

There are many communities where tax-supported school systems offer absolutely no athletic programs for girls. In fact, until recently no money was spent for girls' interscholastic sports in two entire states—Utah and Nevada.

- In colleges the disparity between men's and women's athletics is even greater than it is in the secondary schools. At the University of Washington, 41.4% of the 26,464 undergraduate students enrolled are women. However, when it comes to athletics women get only nine-tenths of 1% of the $2 million the university spends annually on sports. The women's intercollegiate budget is $18,000 a year, while the men have $1.3 million to spend over and above the income-producing sports of football and basketball. Despite the enormous discrepancy, the situation at Washington has markedly improved. In 1957 there were no women's intercollegiate athletics at the university. Dr. Joseph Kearney, director of sports at Washington, says, "We want to develop the women's programs that are now in an evolutionary stage." Evolutionary is a clinically accurate term. If the current rate of progress were maintained, women would reach financial parity with men in the year 2320.

- Things are better at Vassar, but hardly as good as one might expect, considering the college's pioneer role in women's education and rights. In 1968 Vassar admitted male students for the first time. There are now 1,400 girls and 700 boys enrolled. Vassar men compete in five sports and have an annual budget of $4,750. The women have three sports and $2,060 to spend.
- Since its organization in 1910 the National Collegiate Athletic Association has governed men's collegiate athletics. The NCAA now has an annual operating budget of $1.5 million and 42 full-time employees. The female counterpart of the NCAA is the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women. It was established only in 1971. Prior to that, there seemed little need for an organization because there were so few intercollegiate women's programs. The AIAW operates on $24,000 a year and employs one executive (who works part-time) and one assistant.
- In five major collegiate athletic conferences—Southeastern, Big Ten, Big Eight, Southwest and PAC 8—there are 5,000 students on football scholarships alone. These legitimate scholarships (to say nothing of any under-the-table goodies) are worth some $10 million a year to their recipients. Women are almost totally excluded from the scholarship system which, whatever its deficiencies, is the one used to develop most of our first-class athletes. As many as 50,000 men a year earn a college education by playing games. Figures are hard to come by, but it is likely that less than 50 American women hold athletic scholarships and enjoy the benefits—financial, educational, sporting—that these grants provide.

Whatever the small total of women scholarship holders is, it was reduced by one in January 1973 when Cathy Carr, a swimmer who had won two gold medals at the Munich Olympics, had to resign the four-year grant she had been awarded by the University of New Mexico. The reason: she and the astonished university discovered that a woman holding an athletic scholarship was barred from competing in women's intercollegiate events by, of all things, the AIAW.

Recently, Mary Rekstad, the AIAW's lone executive, explained the Alice in Wonderland regulation. "When the AIAW was formed many men told us that scholarships were a bad influence on collegiate sports, that we should avoid making the mistakes they had made and stay out of the mess." On the surface the concern of the admittedly corrupt men for the purity of their female counterparts seems more hilarious than touching—something like a confirmed alcoholic guzzling all the booze at a party to protect the other guests from the evils of drink.

"It might seem that the men were motivated by self-interest," said Rekstad. "But we did not think so. We wanted to protect girls from the excesses of recruiting and exploitation." Last month the AIAW reassessed the situation and decided to drop the regulation. Now women on athletic scholarships can take part in events it sanctions.

- When it comes to pay-for-play situations, unequal scales are established for men and women. As a small but instructive example, one of the leading events of the Northern California tennis circuit is held each May in Mountain View. This tournament is open to men and women and each entrant, regardless of sex, must pay an $8 fee. About an equal number of men and women compete. However, when it comes to prize money, sex raises it miserly head. At Mountain View the men's singles winner receives $1,000, the runner-up $500, the semifinal losers $150 each, quarter-final losers $75 each, and the round of 16 losers $25 each. On the other hand, the women's singles winner receives $150, and the runner-up $50. The women receive no other money prizes. There also is a doubles competition for men, but not for women. In all, though they have put up the same entry fee, $3,000 is paid to men while the women play for $200. In monetary terms, the Mountain View tournament considers women 15th-class citizens.
- In 1971 Billie Jean King became the first woman athlete to win $100,000 in a year. During the same year Rod Laver was the leading winner on the men's tennis circuit, collecting $290,000. To reach her total King won three times as many tournaments as Laver. Last year King captured the U.S. Open at Forest Hills and collected $10,000. Ilie Nastase was the men's winner and earned $25,000.

At Wimbledon Stan Smith collected $12,150 for the men's title while King picked up only $4,830 for the women.' At Forest Hills and Wimbledon the women often draw as many spectators, and sometimes more than the men.

- In 1972 on the Ladies Professional Golf tour Kathy Whitworth was the leading money-winner, collecting $65,063 in 29 tournaments. In the same year Jack Nicklaus was the biggest moneymaker among the men pros, winning $320,542 in 19 tournaments. The discrepancy between men and women professionals is even more notable among lesser competitors. The 15th leading money-winner on the women's tour in 1972 was JoAnne Carner, who made $18,901. The 15th-place finisher among the men, Jim Jamieson, collected $109,532. Admittedly, the women's tour arouses less interest than the men's and sponsors feel they receive a better return for their money backing men's events.
- In the Roller Derby it is the women, more than the men, who attract fans and generate publicity. The female star of the Derby is Joan Weston, a superior athlete. She makes between $25,000 and $30,000 a year. There are six men on the Derby tour who play the same game in front of the same crowds as Weston, all of whom earn larger salaries. Charlie O'Connell, the leading male performer, is paid twice as much as Weston. When they join the Derby tour, men and women are paid about $85 a week plus travel expenses. But men's salaries increase more rapidly than women's, and once established a man will receive between $200 and $250 a week, while a woman of equal talent makes only $150.

### BIG BROTHER

- Dr. Katherine Ley, a full professor and chairman of the women's physical education department of the State University College of New York at Cortland, is one of the country's leading physical educators. She long has sought better opportunities for women in sports. At Dr. Ley's university (men's budget $84,000 a year; women's $18,000) the situation could hardly be described as one of sweetness, light and equality. For example, the Cortland women's basketball team cannot practice regularly in the main gymnasium, but it is permitted to play varsity games there. Recently one such game ran overtime whereupon, according to Dr. Ley, the men's basketball coach stormed into the gym and told the girls to get off the court because the boys had to practice. The women's coach asked if he couldn't use the field house, explaining that her team was in the middle of a game and had reserved the space. He said he was in a hurry because he had to leave shortly to scout another team. He told the women it was silly to finish; the score was lopsided and it was not even a game. The women docilely left the game unfinished and withdrew.
- The Mission Conference, an eight-team league of California junior colleges, agreed not long ago that women could compete in varsity sports with and against men. Last February in a game against San Diego City College, Ray Blake, the basketball coach of San Bernardino Valley College, took advantage of the new ruling. Leading 114 to 85 with three minutes and 12 seconds to play, Blake sent in a substitute, Sue Palmer. The San Diego coach, Bill Standly, responded by calling time and asking his men, "Do you want to be humiliated any further by playing against a girl?" The team, to a man, said no, and San Diego walked off the court.
- At a parochial high school in Maryland, a girls' basketball team was playing a varsity rival. The game was officiated by the man who serves as athletic director of the host school. As the contest drew toward a close, the A.D., bored and feeling that he could spend his time better elsewhere, turned to the timekeeper and, in something less than a whisper, suggested that the clock not be stopped for timeouts, that it be kept running until the game ended. One of the players overheard the conversation and said, "That's unfair." "That, young lady, is a technical foul on you," said the athletic director, ending the argument.

### THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE

- Ron Wied is the football coach at coed Pius XI in Milwaukee, the largest Catholic high school in the state. Wied says, "There is cause for concern among our male coaching staff over the pressure for girls' sports. Facilities are a problem. We've got a boys' gym and a girls' gym. Before, we could use the girls' gym for wrestling and B team basketball a lot more than we can now. I think girls have a right to participate but to a lesser degree than boys. If they go too far with the competitive stuff they lose their femininity. I guess if I had my choice, I'd like to keep boys' teams going up in importance and let the girls stay about where they are now."

- Jack Short is the director of physical education for the State of Georgia school system. Speaking of the physical education program there. Short commented, "I don't think the idea is to get girls interested in intersholastic competition. I don't think the phys ed program on any level should be directed toward making an athlete of a girl."
- At the Munich Games, Olga Connolly, a female discus thrower, was selected to carry the U.S. flag at the opening ceremonies. Upon learning that Connolly would be the American color-bearer, Russell Knipp, a weight lifter, said, "The flag-bearer ought to be a man, a strong man, a warrior. A woman's place is in the home."
- At Trenton (N.J.) State College the usual man-woman inequality exists, with $70,000 budgeted for men and only $15,687 for women. Joyce Countiss, the women's basketball coach, is paid considerably less than her male counterpart, but as far as she is concerned, the day-to-day discriminations are as humiliating as the monetary inequality. "We aren't supposed to sweat," says Countiss fiercely. "The men's uniforms are laundered by the school, but if we want ours clean we wash them ourselves. We have no athletic trainer; the men have one who even travels with the teams. The school has a training room with whirlpool baths, heat treatments, etc., but women get to use the facilities only in emergencies. The weight room is located in the men's locker room, so naturally we have no access to it. The list goes on and on, but most places are much worse off than we are."
- Susan Hollander is a student at Hamden (Conn.) High School. She had sufficient talent to be a member of her school's varsity cross-country and indoor track teams. There was no girls' team, and she was prohibited by a state regulation from participating on the boys' team. Backed by her parents, she brought suit against the Connecticut Interscholastic Athletic Conference. The case was heard on March 29, 1971 in the Superior Court of New Haven and Judge John Clark FitzGerald ruled against Hollander. In giving his decision Judge FitzGerald stated, "The present generation of our younger male population has not become so decadent that boys will experience a thrill in defeating girls in running contests, whether the girls be members of their own team or of an adversary team. It could well be that many boys would feel compelled to forgo entering track events if they were required to compete with girls on their own teams or on adversary teams. With boys vying with girls . . . the challenge to win, and the glory of achievement, at least for many boys, would lose incentive and become nullified. Athletic competition builds character in our boys. We do not need that kind of character in our girls."

John Roberts, the executive secretary of the Wisconsin Interscholastic Athletic Association, says many coaches of boys' teams in his state are worried about the increased interest in girls' sports. "The facilities thing will get worse," says one of Roberts' colleagues. "Girls haven't figured out yet how to use the urinals."

### THE DOUBLE STANDARD

Last summer a steward at Ellis Park in Kentucky sought to suspend Jockey Mary Bacon for cursing in the paddock after a losing ride. Said Bacon, "They expect a girl to get off a horse and say 'Nice horsey, nice horsey,' like in *National Velvet*. Well, I get mad like everyone else. If I lost a race and didn't cuss, then the stewards might have something to worry about."

When asked why only women were permitted to coach girls' teams, Ada Mae Warrington, director of physical education for women in the Prince George's County (Md.) school system, said, "We have had several instances of a girl assaulting a man. We are trying to protect our coaches."

In 1971, after a lengthy argument with the New York State Education Department, Katy Schilly was permitted to run on the Paul V. Moore High School cross-country team. After the decision was made, an elaborate security system was set up to protect her. Among other things, a woman had to be present whenever the runner was in her locker room. "Maybe they're afraid I'll slip on a bar of soap in the shower," said Schilly.

Prudery is a major factor contributing to the present low estate of women's sports. This hangup cannot be blamed on our Victorian or Puritan ancestors.

Early in this century there was widespread participation by girls in competitive athletics. Baseball, bike racing and track and field were popular pastimes for girls. Basketball was played extensively, and often girls' games were scheduled as doubleheaders with boys' contests. Then in 1923, a national committee of women headed by Mrs. Herbert Hoover was formed to investigate the practice of holding such doubleheaders. The committee was shocked to find girls wearing athletic costumes performing before crowds that included men. Mrs. Hoover and her friends believed that girls were being used as a come-on and that the practice was disgraceful and should be stopped. State after state followed the advice and either abolished all girls' sports or made them so genteel as to be almost unrecognizable as athletic contests.

"When I went to college in the '30s, we were taught that competition was dirty," recalls Betty Desch, head of the women's physical education department of the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Those states that had retained any girls' athletic programs declared that teams should be coached only by women, or else who knows what might transpire. The requirement, still in effect in many states, has stifled the development of competent female athletic programs. While there is no evidence that women cannot be as good coaches as men, it is a fact that there are very few good women coaches. There are obvious reason for this. Few girls in high school or college have had the same competitive opportunities as men, so they are seldom inspired to take up coaching as a career.

Also, few colleges allow girls to take courses in coaching techniques and theory. Where they can attend such classes, there has been little point in doing so, since once a girl graduates she finds few coaching jobs available, and those that are available pay poorly or not at all. When a school needs a coach for a girls' team, the usual practice is to draft a woman from the physical education department for the job. Through no fault of her own, she rarely has much expertise or enthusiasm for coaching competitive athletics. In consequence, girls in her charge do not learn fundamental techniques, skills and seldom become excited about athletics. Thus the vicious circle is continued.

### THE SAME OLD STORY

The following letter appeared not long ago in *The Washington Post:*

"Your editorial, 'Growing Up by the Book' (Dec. 1), revealed the harmful effects of stereotyped sex roles in children's books and toys. But it seems that *The Washington Post* is extending this same discrimination to its sports pages.

"Our specific complaint is that girls' high school basketball scores are completely ignored in your paper while boys' high school basketball is given 500-word articles. There are numerous active, aggressive teams from all-girls' schools as well as public schools. Girls' basketball is not a farce; it is an exciting spectator sport with a four-month season that is of interest to thousands of Washington-area students, including boys.

"We suggest that you 'practice what you preach' and print reports on a sport where girls are anything but passive."

The amount of coverage given to women's athletics is meager and the quality is atrocious. Most of the stories that do appear are generally in the man-bites-dog journalistic tradition, the gist of them being that here is an unusual and mildly humorous happening—a girl playing games. Rather than describing how well or badly the athlete performed or even how the contest turned out, writers tend to concentrate on the color of the hair and eyes, and the shape of the legs or the busts of the women. The best-looking girls (by male standards) are singled out for attention, no matter how little their sporting talent may be. Women athletes are bothered by this, since the insinuation is "at least some of them look normal." It is comparable to a third-string defensive back being featured on a college football program cover because of the length of his eyelashes or the symmetry of his profile.

A fine (in the sense of being typical) example of women's sports journalism appeared in the Aug. 23, 1971 issue of SPORTS ILLUSTRATED: "A cool, braided California blonde named Laura Baugh made quite a splash . . . her perfectly tanned, well-formed legs swinging jauntily. The hair on her tapered arms was bleached absolutely white against a milk-chocolate tan. Her platinum hair was pulled smartly back in a Viking-maiden braid . . ." The account had to do with a women's golf tournament. The difference in reporting men's and women's sporting events is obvious.

Between August 1972 and September 1973 NBC will televise 366 hours of "live" sport. Only one hour of this (the finals at Wimbledon) will be devoted to women. Til Ferdenzi, manager of sports publicity for NBC, says, "Egad, I never thought about it before. I guess it's not fair." Bill Brendle, his counterpart at CBS, says, "We don't know if women draw an audience—they might not be saleable." During the coming year CBS will televise some 260 hours of men's sports and 10 hours of women's sports. ABC does not know how its time is divided between men and women athletes, but ABC's Irv Brodsky says defensively, "Women don't play sports."

The paucity and peculiarity of sporting news about females have two effects, both discriminatory. First, girls at all levels of play are deprived of the genuine and harmless satisfaction of seeing their athletic accomplishments publicized. Because the feats of outstanding women athletes are briefly and bizarrely reported, there are few sporting heroines. Boys are bombarded with daily stories about how much fun male athletes are having, how important, dashing and rich they are. The suggestion is made that getting out and playing games—and playing them well—is an exciting and constructive thing to do. Girls have few such models and seldom receive such subliminal messages advertising athletics.

In an informal survey taken for the purposes of this report, nearly all of some 100 high school girls scattered across the country could name 10 male athletes in college or professional sports whom they admired—or at least whose names they knew. But not a single girl to whom the question was put could name 10 prominent women athletes. The sportswoman most often identified by the high school girls was not an American but Olga Korbut, the 17-year-old Russian gymnast (SI cover, Mar. 19) who appeared prominently on television during the 1972 Olympics.

As bad as it is, conventional discrimination has perhaps had less influence on women's position in the sporting world than has another phenomenon that ranges even further. It might be called psychological warfare; its purpose is to convince girls who show an inclination for athletics that their interest is impractical and unnatural. The campaign to frighten girls into accepting notions about their athletic role begins early.

Carol is 12, an eigth-grade student at a parochial grammar school in Maryland. She is one of the best athletes, regardless of sex, in the school. Last year she was ranked by the AAU among the 15 best high jumpers of her age in the country. She comes by her athletic interests and talents naturally. Her father was a professional basketball player and now is a college coach. In her family, playing games is a way of life. But Carol is discovering that elsewhere sports are not regarded as suitable for girls. And it makes her angry. "At recess," Carol says, "the boys get the softball and kickball fields. The girls have a parking lot and part of a field with holes in it. Sometimes we don't even get that field because Sister keeps us in to wash off tables. She says that is girls' work."

C. M. Russell High School in Great Falls, Mont. has 2,040 students and an excellent girls' athletic program ($15,000 a year for girls; $35,000 for boys). Yet even there, the members of a six-girl panel discussing sports were aware of forces putting them in their athletic place.

"There's one thing that really doesn't have anything to do with school," said one girl. "If you've got a brother and he's playing football or basketball your folks are going to drive him back and forth to practice and change dinner hours for him. But if you're a girl, your mother says, 'Be home at 5 to set the table.'"

Early on, girls learn to expect and put up with parental edicts and insinuations that the games they play are unimportant. When she is 15 or 16 the campaign against a girl's athletic interest takes an uglier turn, being directed against her appearance and sexuality. The six C. M. Russell girls were attractive teenagers. Most of them dated boys who were athletes. "The guys on the teams tease us about being jocks," said a tiny lithe gymnast, "but they are just having fun. They know we work hard and I think they are proud of what we do."

"The mean ones," said a basketball player, "are those who aren't in sports themselves. They don't want to see a girl play because it makes them look bad. They want her to sit in the stands with them. So they try to put us down. They'll come up in the hall and give you an elbow and say, 'Hey, stud.'"

"Some girls are bad, too," a hurdler noted. "They'll say, 'Aren't you afraid you'll get ugly muscles in your legs?'"

"Girls in sports are more careful about how they look," said the gymnast. "We wear skirts more than other girls because we are worried about being feminine."

Some authorities consider the word "feminine" a degrogatory term. "When we say 'feminine,'" says Dr. David Auxter of Slippery Rock State College, "we mean submissive, a nonparticipant, an underachiever, a person who lacks a strong sense of self-identity, who has weak life goals and ambitions."

Grosse Pointe (Mich.) North High School has a far different and lesser girls' sports program than that of C. M. Russell in Montana. There are two official girls' interscholastic sports, gymnastics and track. These are financed by a $2,200, hopefully annual, grant from a local boosters club. In contrast, boys receive about $20,000 in school funds. But in at least one respect girl athletes are treated better at Grosse Pointe than in many other places. Girls are awarded school letters that they may wear on a sweater. In many other localities, players are rewarded with inconspicuous pins, printed certificates, or nothing. In practice, winning and being able to wear a letter sweater is an empty honor for Grosse Pointe girls. "Not very many girls wear their letter," says Pam Candler, a senior who is the Michigan girls' trampoline champion and was runner-up last spring in the state tennis championships. "Mostly only freshmen or sophomores—because they don't know what the score is."

What is the score?

"Well, a lot of people think it is freakish for a girl to wear a letter sweater. Like she's a jock. I'm kind of proud of the girls who have enough courage to wear them, but I don't. It would make me feel funny. I guess I've been brainwashed."

"I don't like to think that there are male chauvinists, but I guess there are," says Jan Charvat, another gymnast. "It is degrading that we have to act in a certain way just because we're in sports. A girl ought to be free to be what she is, without people cutting her up."

So far as the "social" acceptability of girls' sports at Grosse Pointe, Candler says, "If a girl is great looking, then maybe the guy she is going with likes to see her in sports. If she isn't good looking and popular, sports are not going to help her. In fact they will do the opposite."

Bruce Feighner, the principal of Grosse Pointe North, is not proud of the weakness of his girls' athletic program. However, like so many of his colleagues, he cites the lack of funds as a major reason for the inequality: "Here and in many other communities in Michigan, taxpayer revolts are brewing. It is hard to establish new programs. This admittedly is unjust, but the fault is not entirely or perhaps even principally with the school. The role of girls in sport is determined by society, and until now that role has been an inferior one. There's another practical side to the matter. Grosse Pointe is a very affluent community. If a girl is interested in athletics, the conventional way of developing her skill is to marry a man who has enough money to belong to a country club, a tennis or yacht club."

Feighner's comment may seem cynical but it is perceptive. Except occasionally in track (where the leading female performers are developed in private AAU clubs) the only women's sports in which the U.S. record is respectable, occasionally outstanding, are tennis, golf, skating, skiing and swimming, essentially country-club sports and ones that are considered "ladylike." For the girl who lacks country-club opportunities and inclinations, yet somehow has kept her interest in athletics through high school, the question of what to do next is perplexing. For men, the next stage in the American athletic progression is college, where sporting skills are polished and reputations made. However, college sports presently have little attraction or value for good female athletes.

The woman athlete at the university is made to feel unwelcome and an oddity Beth Miller is a tall, graceful 21-year-old, by any standards a figure pleasing to the eye. She is also one of the best female athletes in the country, having been the National Junior Women's pentathon and shotput champion, a standout performer on her Lock Haven (Pa.) State College basketball team, a swimmer, softball player and spelunker. On one weekend last winter, Miller led her basketball team to victory and then hurried to Baltimore where she won the shotput and placed third in the high jump at an AAU indoor meet. Word of her accomplishments was received by a Lock Haven radio sportscaster. The commentator spent maybe 20 seconds describing what Miller had done and ended with the comment, "What an animal she must be."

If a talented woman withstands these pressures and decides to become a serious athlete, she often has to cope not just with insinuations but with slanderous gossip. Jo Ann Prentice is a sharp-tongued, sharp-minded woman who has earned her living for 17 years on the LPGA tour. Asked about the "social" life on the tour, Prentice replied to the euphemistic question in her soft Alabama drawl, "This is kind of how it is. If you get into town at the beginning of the week and you meet some guy whose company you enjoy and have dinner with him once or twice, the gossips start asking what kind of tramps are these babes on the tour. If you stay at the motel where everybody else on the tour has checked in, then the question is what are those girls doing back in those rooms alone."

The vicious paradox that Prentice outlines—women athletes are either heterosexual wantons or homosexual perverts or, simultaneously, both—is the culmination of all the jokes and warnings that began when an 11-year-old wanted to play sandlot football with her brothers and was teased, in good fun, about being a tomboy.

As a result, a great many girls simply avoid sports completely. Others try to compromise, accommodating their athletic desires to the attitudes of society. They continue to play games, but play them nervously and timidly, attempting to avoid appearances and enthusiasms that might be construed as unladylike.

The few women who survice the pressure may be scarred in various ways, but there are compensations. Jack Griffin, though he has worked for 25 years in relative obscurity, is regarded by many who know of him as one of the most distinguished athletic coaches in the nation. He has coached boys and girls, from gradeschoolers to post-collegians, in swimming, track, basketball and football. Working only with the youth of the small Maryland city, Frederick, he has helped to develop an inordinate number of national and international class athletes. He has been an Olympic coach and is currently a member of the Olympic Women's Track and Field Committee. "I enjoy coaching both sexes," says Griffin, "but strictly from a coaching standpoint, I have noted one important difference between them. Desire is an intangible quality which you like to see in any athlete. Coaches of men's teams often single out an individual athlete and say his most valuable characteristic is his desire. You seldom hear girls' coaches make this sort of comment. The reason, I think, is that *any* girl or woman who is very much involved in athletics tends to have an extraordinary amount of desire, not only to excel in her sport but to excel as a person. It is so common with the girls that we tend to overlook it, accepting it as normal. I suppose in a sense it is normal for them. The way things are in this country, any girl who perseveres in sport has to be not only an exceptional athlete but an exceptional human being."

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[From Sports Illustrated, June 4, 1973]

## PART 2: WOMEN IN SPORT—ARE YOU BEING TWO-FACED?

MOST PEOPLE, IF THEY THINK ABOUT IT AT ALL, CONSIDER SPORT RISKY AND INESSENTIAL FOR GIRLS. THESE SEEMINGLY BENIGN AND WELL-MEANING ATTITUDES ARE NOW BEING QUESTIONED—AND CLINICALLY DISPROVED

(By Bil Gilbert and Nancy Williamson)

There are those who defined the present system in which girls and women participating in sports receive limited funds, facilities, coaching rewards and encouragement. The arguments for maintaining the status quo are that (1) athletics are physically bad for women; competition may masculinize their appearance and affect their sexual behavior; (2) women do not play sports well enough to deserve athletic equality; and (3) girls are not really interested in sports.

The belief that a female in competitive athletics is taking short- and long-term risks with her health is, according to existing medical information, simply wrong. Dr. Clayton L. Thomas, the Harvard consultant on human reproduction and a member of the United States Olympic Medical and Training Services Committee, says, "I do not believe there is evidence available supporting the view that it is possible for healthy women of any age to indulge in a sport which is too strenuous for them. The literature of the past contains many opinions stating that competitive events are harmful for women. There are no data, however, to support these negative views."

Contentions aimed at excluding girls from sports on medical grounds often cite special dangers to reproductive organs. Recent research suggests these hazards are imaginary. The uterus, for example, is one of the most shock-resistant of all internal organs, being protected by what amounts to an extremely effective suspension system. The external genitalia of females are less exposed than those of males and could be as easily guarded if equipment manufacturers designed protective devices.

Other research argues that neither strenuous exercise nor athletic competition delays the onset or regularity of menstruation. Menstruation should not prevent a girl from participating in athletics, nor necessarily have a negative effect on her performance. (Medical surveys conducted at the Olympic Games indicate that women have set world records at all stages of the menstrual cycle.)

Such obstetrical information as is available maintains that athletic participation may improve the prospects of both mother and infant. A study of 700 female athletes showed that the length of labor was shorter for them, and the necessity for cesarean section 50% less than in a group of nonathletes. An obvious explanation for this is that women athletes are stronger and in better physical condition.

A mass of empirical evidence supports the almost unanimous medical opinion that no sport per se is more harmful for a girl than for a boy. In this country girls have organized programs in baseball, basketball, ice hockey, soccer and lacrosse—among the most "physical" sports. There is a women's professional football league. The Roller Derby, a violent game, has always been based upon women's participation. In Dallas a successful boxing club is operated for young girls. In none of these activities is there a higher incidence of injury than in comparable boys' programs, nor are girls being injured or exhausted for reasons that appear to be directly connected with their sex.

Competition between the sexes in contact sports is another matter. Here the preponderance of medical opinion seems to be that girls, particularly after the onset of puberty, do face a disproportionate injury risk when competing with boys. Girls mature physically more rapidly than boys, but in the early teens the latter overtake the former. Thereafter, the average boy tends to be larger and stronger (because of a higher proportion of muscle to fatty tissue) and therefore faster, more agile and more athletically adept. "It is as inadvisable to have high school girls competing in varsity football with high school boys as it would be to have high school boys competing against professionals," says Dr. Ken Foreman of Seattle Pacific College. "When you're dealing with sports involving overloads and muscular strength, women should not compete with men. It would be a put down. They can't win."

But consider the Little League. It was established in 1939 and in 1964 was granted a charter as an all-boy sport by an Act of Congress. The organization argues that mixed competition is unsafe for girls. But because of the age group involved (8–12) and the fact that physical differences between the sexes are superficially minimal at this stage. Little League has come under increasing fire from parents who do not feel their daughters should be barred. In many communities it is the only organized summer recreation program. Dr. Creighton Hale, the Little League executive vice-president, adamantly, if regretfully, defends the organization's discriminatory rule. He cites research which he claims indicates that boys at all ages are stronger, swifter and have less fragile bones than girls. Also, says Hale, it is a particular concern in baseball that boys have quicker reactions than girls.

Recent medical reports suggest that Little League may be on shaky ground. Dr. Thomas, in a paper to be published soon, summarizes what he considers to be the best evidence. He finds that prior to puberty boys are taller, but girls and boys are equal in weight, strength and reaction time.

In this matter of the advisability of mixed athletic competition, some supporters of women's rights believe that a principle is involved that is more fundamental than any medical evidence. If a weak, slow, badly coordinated 110-pound boy wants to try out for his school's football team he is required to do nothing but take a routine physical examination. If he passes he is permitted to go out and risk breaking his leg, at least until he is cut from the team. A girl is not given the same right of risk, the right to use or abuse her body as she sees fit. She is prohibited from doing so by the patronizing gallantry that is built into our social and legal system. These days this gallantry often is described as male chuvinism.

Another part of the biological argument is that sports are in essence physically destructive to women, that competition and training masculinize the female. On the one hand there is the notion that females are so fragile sports will break them up like so many china dolls.

Opposed to this is the suspicion that girls who engage in serious athletic training will develop enormous muscles, a bass voice and a beard. Like the former opinion, the latter is also nonsense comparable to the belief that handling toads causes warts. "The supposition that girls will become heavily muscled, malelike creatures as a consequence of intense traning is a tragic distortion of reality," says Dr. Foreman.

Another expert in sports medicine, Dr. Harmon Brown, who is a California endocrinologist and part-time women's track coach, has conducted extensive research on women athletes. He declares that "women are capable of performing maximal resistance exercises and achieving considerable levels of strength with little or no overt evidence of muscular hypertrophy." Muscular hypertrophy, in layman's terms, is excessive and obvious muscle development. Brown explains that women are less likely to develop bulging muscles than men because, first the loss of fatty tissue camouflages such a change and, second, the amount of androgen (male hormone) produced by women is only five to 10% that of males.

It is as preposterous to claim that sports masculinize girls as it is to think that horseback riding will turn men into dwarfs or basketball will make them giants. However, for the same reasons that 7-footers gravitate toward basketball and 5-foot 105-pounders toward careers as jockeys, girls and women of better-than-average muscular development, strength, speed and coordination, and in some cases size, are more inclined to participate in sports. It is simply that these characteristics give them a natural advantage. Yet, unlike the male athlete who is honored and rewarded for his superior physical talents, a woman athlete too often is made to feel that her superiority is somehow shameful.

"A bright woman is caught in a double bind," writes Dr. Matina Horner, president of Radcliffe. "In testing and in other achievement-oriented situations she worries not only about failure, but also about success. If she fails, she is not living up to her own standards of performance; if she succeeds, she is not living up to societal expectations about the female role."

Perhaps nowhere in society is the situation President Horner describes more evident than in sports. Generally speaking, the better an athlete she is, the more a woman must defend herself against charges that she is successful because she was something more or less than a woman to begin with. For many outstanding female athletes the situation is comparable say, to one in which Wilt Chamberlain would be required to apologize for his size and skill and expected to confess that what he really wanted to be was a 5'8" average man.

Behind the myth that participation in sports will masculinize a woman's appearance, there is the even darker insinuation that athletics will masculinize a woman's sexual behavior. But last year Dr. Christine Pickard, a London consultant on birth-control and sex problems, suggested just the opposite. Girl athletes, she declared, tend to make better lovers and are much sexier than less active women: "Athletes are physical creatures. Their bodies are important to them—the physical sensations, touch, the ripple of muscles play a central role in their lives. Women athletes are much more interested in sex and physically more responsive than their less-active sisters."

Contention No. 2: females do not play games well enough to deserve athletic equality. Is there any point in wasting money, gyms, fields and coaching on them? The quality of competition in girls' sports is so inferior that games do not generate gate receipts and therefore it is fiscally irresponsible to spend money on these activities. Most male coaches, athletic directors, high school principals (of which 97% are men) and college presidents (99% men) hold this view.

It is difficult to assess how good American female athletes might be if they were offered athletic facilities, support and encouragement even roughly comparable to what men receive. Given greater equality between the sexes, it seems reasonable that the gap between women's and men's athletic performances would narrow. But improving female performances is not the substantive reason for providing equal opportunity.

The same athletic administrators who urge that girls be excluded because they lack ability take quite a different stance when it comes to getting appropriations and support for men's programs. It is then one hears that the purpose of sport is essentially educational—to develop character, attitudes and good citizenship. It is not important whether one wins or loses but how one plays the game. The two attitudes—girls should not play because they are not good enough, and athletics are good for any boy—are obviously contradictory. If the "exclude-them, they-aren't-good-enough" standard was applied to both sexes, most existing boys' programs would have to be judged unworthy of the money now given them.

Athletic competition is organized so as to match up opponents of more or less equal ability, size, strength and speed. A system of handicapping is implicit in the pleasures and value of sport. The matter has been summed up by Simone de Beauvoir, who writes in *The Second Sex*, "In sports the end in view is not success independent of physical equipment; it is rather the attainment of perfection within the limitations of each physical type: the featherweight boxing champion is as much a champion as is the heavyweight; the woman skiing champion is not the inferior of the faster male champion: they belong to two different classes."

The final consideration is whether girls are sufficiently interested in athletics to justify sports activities for them. "We have tried to organize a girls' sports program," one Eastern high school athletic director explained, "but it hasn't worked out very well. We started girls' basketball this year. We found one of the gals on our faculty to coach them and even though our facilities are crowded we got them practice time in the gym. I drew up a little schedule for them—five games. Unfortunately, the girls didn't show a lot of interest. Only 12 came out for the team. There were two big tomboyish girls who have remained quite enthused, but the others have not been faithful about practice. I'm not blaming them, because I think a normal girl at that age is going to be more interested in catching a boy than catching a basketball. When they played, it was so bad it was pathetic. I think there are only eight girls left on the team now. With that kind of experience we are going to think a long time before starting other girls' programs. We have limited funds and it doesn't make sense to cut into boys' programs or to try to force things on girls that they themselves don't want."

Not maliciously, but simply because it did not occur to this A.D. that they were pertinent, certain facts were omitted from this chronicle of female apathy. In this particular community, as in many others, there never had been any opportunity for girls to play a team sport—in grade school, junior high, or in a public recreation league. The girls' coach was a physical education teacher who had never played basketball herself and had never coached any team sport. No money was provided for uniforms for the girls, though at this school the boys' teams and the cheerleaders have both home and away uniforms which are furnished by the athletic department. The girls were told that they could wear their gym suits or, if they preferred, sell candy and soft drinks at boys' basketball games to raise money for classier costumes. Because of the shortness of the season the girls who made the team would not be eligible for athletic letters or sweaters. Practice for the girls was restricted to Tuesday and Thursday evenings at 8:30, when all the boys' basketball programs—varsity, junior varsity, freshman and intramural—were finished. Being unaccustomed to strenuous physical activity and having no previous training in the techniques of the game the girls, when they began to play, were awkward and self-conscious. They put on such a poor exhibition that some of the boys found it entertaining to hang around after their own practice to whistle and laugh at the girls. The best player among the girls won the derisive—in this context—nickname, Wilt the Stilt. A column of humorous intent apeared in the December issue of the high school newspaper. It listed appropriate Christmas gifts for various students. It was suggested that Wilt the Stilt be given a razor. No mention whatsoever of the girls' basketball program appeared on the sports pages of the local daily newspaper.

Everything considered, an objective observer might disagree with the athletic director's conclusion that the basketball experiment at his school proved that girls are not interested in sports. The fact that at this school—and elsewhere, and in our sports—girls continue to try to participate in athletics despite discouragements and humiliations indicates instead a fundamental and real interest.

Repeatedly, when good girls' athletic programs are offered, the organizers are astonished by the response. For example, the Hillsborough County, Florida (Tampa) Recreation Department never had provided any organized programs in competitive sports for girls. It began to receive inquiries as to why not. In the spring of 1971 a recreation-department employee, Zoe Gray, organized a slow-pitch girls' softball program called the Little Leagueretts. Competition was offered in three age divisions ranging from eight to 15. in its first year more than 1,000 girls turned out and were divided into 68 teams. Shocked at this unexpected development, officials last winter started similar basketball leagues and this summer will add a division for 16- to 18-year-old girls to the softball program.

In the summer of 1972 Carol Mann, one of the leading members of the Ladies Professional Golf Association, decided to organize a week-long clinic for girls in her native Baltimore. Mann was told that such a program had never been sponsored in the area and that she should not plan on more than 30 or 40 youngsters taking part. Despite the fact that the golf clinic was held the week that Hurricane Agnes swept up the East Coast, 154 girls came to the sessions.

Doyle Weaver, an enterprising Dallas boxing coach, received all manner of discouragement and warnings when he conceived the notion of organizing The Missy Junior Gloves, a boxing program for six- to 16-years-old girls. However, when Weaver's program got off the ground, it attracted 300 youngsters, more than had ever participated in his boys' boxing activities.

In Kansas there has been a flurry of interest in girls' sports because of a series of legal challenges. Regional and state championship events, similar to those which boys have had for years, have been organized for girls by the state athletic association. In 1972 some 14,000 girls took part in four regional track meets. Meanwhile, 900 girls from 91 schools participated in the state tennis tournament, and 4,000 girls played volleyball.

These are just fledgling programs, mere hints of the potental interest in girls' sports. But there is one locale—surprisingly enough, rural Iowa—that can offer conclusive proof of the viability and rewards of female athletic equality.

Currently 488 Iowa high schools belong to the state athletic association for girls, which sanctions 17 championships in 13 different sports. The situation is so uncommon that it is worth calling the roll of Iowa games. They are currently: basketball (438 schools participating); track (423); softball (302); golf (247); tennis (86); distance running (82); coed golf (77); volleyball (65); gymnastics (49); swimming (46); coed tennis (26); synchronized swimming (9); field hockey (6). Coaches of the girls' teams, most of whom are men, are paid exactly the same as coaches of boys' teams; if a school can afford assistant coaches for boys' teams, it will also have assistan coaches for girls' teams. The girls' teams are fully equipped, have the same practice facilities, travel in the same style and are given the same school rewards as boys' teams. Girl athletes in Iowa are not regarded as freaks. As a class they tend to be the most popular girls, enjoying more status in the eyes of other students, their teachers and townspeople. In the smaller communities of the state where high school athletics are the principal local excitement, girls are as much a sporting attraction as boys.

The press of rural Iowa treats the competitions equally. Most interscholastic basketball games are scheduled as doubleheaders—one girls' game and one boys' game. The next morning the reporter from the local newspaper will lead off his account and devote the most space to whichever game was the more interesting. The stories seldom are cluttered with cute, irrelevant, patronizing passages on how the girls looked. Attention is focused instead on how they played and how the contest developed.

Relatively speaking, Iowa is a utopia for girls' athletics—it is not unheard of for a girl from a neighboring state to move to Iowa and take up residence with relatives during her high school years in order to take part in the athletic program. However, it is not a utopia because of something that existed when Iowa was liberated from the Sioux, or because some unique phenomenon sprang up like wild bluebells from the dark prairie earth. The Iowa girls' sports program has developed in the past 20 years. Prior to that, things in Iowa were the same as elsewhere—that is, bad and unequal. The man responsible for the change is Wayne Cooley, who in 1954 left a job as assistant to the president of Grinnell College to become the chielf executive officer of the Iowa Girls' High School Athletic Union. At that time the Union was a feeble organization with no staff and a shoestring budget. But Iowa was different in one important respect—it had set up an independent body to oversee schoolgirl sports. In most states where there is any girls' organization, it is a subdivision—often only a desk—in the boys' association.

Cooley is a hard-driving, fast and forceful man who comes on not as a crusader for women, but as both a promoter and a shrewd and pugnacious executive. He gives the impression that he would be as happy and sucessful pushing real estate or managing a tool-and-die works as he is running the best girls' athletic program in the U.S. "Before coming here," he says, "I had no special interest in women's rights. My experience was in administration; I came to be an administrator. This was a poor-relation outfit, and I wanted to make it as successful and efficient as the organization that exists for boys' sports. I suppose in a certain sense that was my competition—the group I wanted to beat."

Cooley may not have beaten the boys' athletic executives, but he surely has played them to a tie. The two groups are now equal in affluence and influence. The Union has a plush suite of offices in downtown Des Moines and operates on an annual budget of $600,000, which comes principally from gate receipts collected at girls' state championship events. Among Cooley's more important staff members is Jack North, an ex-newspaperman who distributes weekly rankings and team and individual statistics in the fashion of the NCAA or NFL. The Union also issues a monthly newspaper, sponsors clinics and conferences for girls' coaches and does missionary work among Iowa colleges to acquaint graduating seniors with the joys and rewards of coaching girls' athletic teams.

Competitively, artistically and financially, the *pièce de résistance* of the Iowa girls' program is the state basketball championship, which is held each March in Des Moines. During this five-day tournament the Veterans Memorial Auditorium is invariably sold out, the girls attracting about 55,000 fans (often they outdraw the boys' championship, held a week later). Additionally, some five to six million other spectators see the girls' game (*but not the boys'*) via a nine-state TV network that Cooley has helped put together.

"We are competing for the entertainment dollar," Cooley says, "and we try to put on the best show we can. Our girls play in attractive uniforms—they may be mildly revealing but they are in good taste. The girls are young, graceful, skillful and enthusiastic about their game, and they are very competitive. There is no reason why girls' events can't draw well if they are intelligently staged."

In his state tournament production, Cooley surrounds his girl athletes with cheerleaders, bands, music, flags, dignitaries, slick souvenir programs and patriotic and county-fair pageantry of all sorts. In adidtion to basketball games, there is an impressive ceremony in which individual and team champions in all other sports that the Union sponsors are introduced to the crowd and, of course, to the press and TV cameras. "Basketball is our big attraction," says Cooley. "We can't expect to draw the same kind of audience for, say, a tennis or volleyball championship. So we use the basketball tournament as a showcase for the rest of our activities and the other champions."

Whatever the means that have been used to build the Iowa girls' sports empire, the citizens seem well pleased with the end result. Story City, for example, is a town of 2,000 located 15 miles north of Ames in an area known as the Heart of Iowa. It is one of those John Deere, soda and sundry, grain elevator, church steeple communities, down whose main street 76 trombonists should perpetually march. People in Story City still talk about the day in 1972 when the Roland-Story Community High School (350 students) girls' basketball team won the state championship. All through last summer and winter the most common subject of conversation at the drugstore, in the cafe, in the high school corridors, was whether the girls could repeat. (They did not.) Their chances seemed good since two All-State players, an agile guard named Karen Ritland and a gunner of a forward, Cathy Kammin, were returning. Kammin, a shy, dreamy-eyed, 5'8" farm girl, was the most publicized citizen of Story City, since she was the school's leading basketball scorer, averaging 41 points—yes, 41—a game.

"Sports are very big in a little town like this," explains Dallas Kray, the Roland-Story athletic director. "We encourage a lot of sports and we have a recreation program that goes full blast in the summer. We spend about $14,000 a year on sports in the high school. It comes out of the gate receipts. I guess the girls' basketball team, what with Kammin and Ritland, is our biggest gate attraction."

Sitting in the Roadside Café with Cathy Kammin, Karen Ritland and two members of the boys' basketball team, Alan Eggland and Jim Johnson, and talking about discrimination against girls in sports is an unusual experience. Reports have filtered into Story City about inequality between the sexes. The four teenagers find it hard to relate to these phenomena, just as a 15-year-old Ugandan might be unmoved by accounts of racial discrimination in Alabama. "Gee, no, I can't think of any way we're treated much different than boys," says Ritland. "We're all just basketball players."

"It's not all equal," says Johnson.

"How do you mean?"

"Well, Karen and Cathy get a lot more publicity than we do," and Johnson grins while both the girls look flustered. "But they deserve it. Right now they're playing better than we are."

"Are girls in sports popular in this school?"

"I haven't really thought about that," says Kammin, the Story City heroine, and then pauses to work out the matter. "I guess we're popular enough. It isn't a big deal. I mean you play sports because it's something you like, but I suppose you are sort of doing something for the school, too, so nobody looks down on you."

"Maybe this is something," contributes Eggland, as if working away on a puzzle. "The homecoming dance is a big social event here. The last three years a girl who has been on one of the teams has been the queen of it. I think girls in sports are more popular, at least with the boys. We're together a lot, and the girls in sports are the ones who are doing things."

On a midseason Thursday afternoon, Bill Hennessy, the head basketball coach of the Roland-Story girls' team, is running his charges through a light, day-before-the-game drill. He is working with his forwards, setting up screens to give his bomber, Cathy Kammin, open shots. At the opposite end of the court, the assistant girls' coach has the freshmen and reserves. Kenneth (Pat) Eldredge, the boys' basketball coach, is sitting on the stage with some of his team, watching and waiting for a turn on the court. During a break, Hennessy comes over to talk. Eldredge (whose team also has won a state championship) and Hennessy are both slender, graying, soft-spoken men. They are old friends, having coached together for 16 years. "Pat, what about the comment you hear that if less time and attention were given to girls' basketball, the quality of boys' basketball in Iowa would improve?" Hennessy asks.

There might be some truth in that, says Eldredge, smiling. "If we didn't share a gym, if we had more coaching for the boys, if the boys got all the attention, we might have a better team, but that is just a guess. What I do know for certain is that if we cut back on or did not have the girls' team, our sports program for humans would be a lot poorer. I wouldn't want to see that happen."

Whatever value sports have, men like Bill Hennessy and Pat Eldredge believe they are human values, beneficial to boys and girls alike. All those dire warnings of the medical, moral and financial disasters that would follow if girls were granted athletic parity are considered hogwash in Iowa. The local girls have not become cripples or Amazons; the boys have not been driven to flower arrangement or knitting. In fact, there may be no place else in the U.S. where sport is so healthy and enjoys such a good reputation.

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[From Sports Illustrated, June 11, 1973]

## Part 3: Women in Sport—Programmed to be Losers

### THE LIMITED ACCESS OF GIRLS TO ATHLETICS—WHICH TEACH BOYS THE VALUES OF AGGRESSIVENESS AND WINNING—MAY BE ONE REASON WHY FEMALES OFTEN ARE UNDERACHIEVERS. NOW THE SECOND SEX IS TIRED OF BEING . . .

(By Bil Gilbert and Nancy Williamson)

The arguments most often used to justify discrimination against women in sports—that athletics are bad for their health and feminity, that women are not skillful enough or interested in playing games—have on the surface a nice paternalistic, even altruistic, quality. Recent studies indicate such assumptions are incorrect and self-serving nonsense. It simply happens to be in the best interest of the male athletic establishment to maintain the existing situation. Anything beyond token sexual equality in athletics represents a formidable threat to male pride and power. "The status of the female athlete is not something implicit in the nature of the female but rather a manifestation of the ego of the male," says Dr. Ken Foreman, the head of the Seattle Pacific College physical education department and a track coach. "Males simply cannot tolerate a serious challenge from a woman."

Any discussion of collective egos is tricky and extremely speculative. But there are numerous incidents that suggests, at least in competitive sports, the masculinity of males is a more tender and perishable commodity than the feminity of females.

Charles Maas, secretary of the Indiana State Coaches Association, commented glumly on a recent decision by his state's Supreme Court permitting girls to compete with boys in noncontact sports, such as golf, tennis, track and swimming: "There is the possibiilty that a boy would be beaten by a girl and as a result be ashamed to face his family and friends. I wonder if anybody has stopped to think what that could do to a young boy."

Ellen Cornish, a senior at Frederick (Md.) High School, is one of the best distance runners among American women, good enough to have been a member of the U.S. cross-country team that took part in the 1971 world championship. Though she has represented her country, Cornish never has been able to compete for her school. The reasons are the usual ones. Frederick High has no girls' track program and Cornish has not been able to run on the boys' team even though she regularly has better times in practice than most of the boys. In the spring of 1972 arrangements were made for Cornish to enter a two-mile event in a dual meet between Frederick and Thomas Johnson High School. She was to compete on an exhibition basis, that is, any points she won would not count in the meet score. As things turned out, she was handicapped in an even more obvious and effective way. At the end of the seventh lap of the race, with Cornish fighting for the lead, she was pulled off the track, according to a previous agreement between the coaches. This was done to protect the male runners from the morale-shattering possibility of being beaten by a girl, a possibility that was probable.

Several years ago Becky Birchmore won a place on the University of Georgia men's tennis team and played in Southeastern Conference matches. Since then, Dan Magill, Georgia's tennis coach, has had time to mull over the Birchmore matter and he now regrets that Birchmore was allowed to play against men. "I used her against Auburn one time," says Magill, "and she won. The boy she beat was embarrassed to death. It ruined him. I really wish I hadn't done it."

Male defensiveness about female athletic prowess is not restricted to head-to-head confrontations. Accomplished women athletes, even when they are competing against one another, seem to ruffle the psyches of many men. That there are many women athletes superior to men is indisputable. There surely are a hundred or so male tennis players who could defeat Billie Jean King, but there are hundreds of thousands who would be fortunate to win a set from King. The same situation prevails in most sports. "For obvious reasons it is often the more sedentary, unathletic, spectator-oriented man who has the most derogatory things to say about outstanding sportswomen," says Ken Foreman.

A frequent ploy used to maintain the illusion of total male athletic superiority is to compliment a skillful woman by saying, "She plays almost like a man." (There is a barb in the compliment—the insinuation that this babe's hormones are probably so weird that she is or nearly is a man.) Not long ago a male coach commented on the style of Micki King, the only American diver to win a gold medal at the Munich Olympics. The coach said King "dives like a man," a statement that drew a sharp comment from Jack Scott, the athletic director of Oberlin College: "My reaction on reading the quote was that she sure as hell does not dive like me or any other man I ever met. In fact, she does not dive like 99% of the men in America. What she obviously does is dive *correctly*."

Just as many men feel menaced by the athletic activities of women, many organizations are becoming nervous over the rising expectations of women in sport. Long-standing by-and-for-male principles are being threatened, as are by-and-for-male budgets. "I know the men who head the high school athletic associations in all 50 states, and I don't think there are more than three or four of them who genuinely want to see a girls' program comparable to that of boys'," says Wayne Cooley, the aggressive director of the Iowa Girls' High School Athletic Union. "Some are hostile; a more common attitude is apathy. Right now some state associations are getting a lot of heat from parents and from courts, so they are putting in token programs for girls. They will hire a woman assistant who is not aggressive and schedule a few so-called state championships and then they let the whole thing go."

The bedrock reason for this institutional fear—and the fierce resistance to improving girls' athletics—has been pinpointed by Harvard's Dr. Clayton Thomas: "Women traditionally have not been allowed the same share of funds for athletics and recreational equipment. The appearance of girls' teams to utilize sports facilities not previously required by them will have great economic impact on schools, colleges and communities. If, by some miracle, women suddenly began using public and private athletic facilities to even half the extent they are used by men, then the overcrowding would be catastrophic."

Whether or not the situation would be a catastrophe depends on one's outlook. But a marked increase in participation by girls and women certainly would bring about radical change. Most organized sport in the U.S. falls into three categories, that which is sponsored by colleges and universities, by public-school systems and by community recreation organizations. It is a guess—and probably a conservative one—that no more than 1% of all college and university athletic funds are spent on women. In junior and senior high schools, girls get perhaps 5% of the funds and facilities. In community recreation programs the figure may be as high as 20%. If females were given as little as 25% of the resources, the shape of the American athletic system would be altered far more drastically than it could be by all the designated pinch hitters, franchise shifters, NCAA rule-makers and carping reporters rolled together . . .

If they found it necessary to provide something more than token programs for girls and women, athletic executives would have only two alternatives. The first would be to raise funds to be used for women's facilities, coaching salaries and other operating expenses. But faced with financial crises and taxpayers' revolts, most schools and communities are looking for ways to decrease sports expenditures, not increase them. Therefore, the prospects of upping athletic budgets by an across-the-board 25% are slim to nonexistent. So the only practical way to finance substantial new programs for girls is to take resources from the programs now operated for the benefit of males.

The present system is able to function as it does—providing elaborate, perhaps even excessive, facilities for boys and men—only because half the population has been excluded from participating. But most of the funds are public ones, contributed by both men and women, and in this rests the seed of the change that may come.

What many athletic administrators fear is what has happened in Iowa City. In the spring of 1971 some parents and daughters there began protesting against sexual discrimination in the athletic programs of the city school system. (Until last year the larger cities in the state had held out against rural Iowa's unique program that has brought sexual equality in athletics to the small towns.) There were only two competitive sports for girls in Iowa City schools, tennis and swimming. Officials did not know, or would not say, how much money was being spent on the girls' program, but it was known that some $60,000 a year was devoted to boys' sports. The athletic director of the school system, Robert White. said that nothing could be done to change the situation. He said all available funds and facilities were being used. The parents' group did not accept this answer and engaged an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer. In the fall of 1971 the school board, under legal pressure, agreed to allot $2,000 more for girls' sports and sponsor additional teams in gymnastics and golf. This token victory did not satisfy parents, and the battle has continued. If there is only X amount of funds available for sports, the parents and their legal advisers say, then the girls are entitled to something approaching one half X dollars. If the only way thus sum can be collected is to take it from existing boys' programs—then so be it.

At one point during the controversy, White admitted that his athletic department had a cash reserve of some $4,500 that was being held "for a rainy day." This prompted a school board member to remark, "It looks like the precipitation is about to fall."

It appears that many institutions and agencies are in for a spell of wet weather. The discriminatory regulations of high school athletic associations in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York and Ohio have been or are being challenged in the courts. In all but a very few cases judges have sided with the women and ordered that existing practices be changed.

But an even worse storm is brewing. The U.S. Education Amendments of 1972 include an adjunct labeled Title IX. Title IX *forbids* sex discrimination in any institutions using federal funds (the majority of schools in the country). A young, brisk lawyer named Gwen Gregory, who works in the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, is charged with drawing up government guidelines for the implementation of Title IX. Gregory's overwhelming concern at the present time is the sex discrimination in sport.

"We have been talking to individuals who are concerned about the problem," Gregory says. "Two approaches have been suggested. The first is backed by the more active women's groups. They feel we should push for straight equality. That is, if a school plays football, then any girl who is interested should be permitted to try out for that team. Legally, of course, that is the easiest approach." It is also the approach that would most please male coaches. If the fight is made on the grounds of strict equality, it will give champions of the status quo a beautiful defensive opening. For example, an athletic director would open the football team to girls. When none or only an occasional girl came out for the team he could then say, in all honesty, that he had done his best. So far as girls' soccer or field hockey was concerned, he could argue that there was no need for such programs since girls had the same opportunity as boys to play football.

"Many people are opposed to this plan," says Lawyer Gregory. "Because there seems to be a real difference in physical abilities between men and women, equal mixed competition presents problems. The other approach calls for facilities and funds to be more or less equally divided between the sexes. If, for instance, you have football for boys, then you should have soccer or field hockey, say, for girls, and these teams should be given equal support.

"One of the big hangups in this is that 'separate but equal' is a dirty phrase to anyone involved in civil rights. Realistically, separate but equal may be the best answer in athletics." But, concludes Gregory, "there is no doubt about the need for equality or the fact that it does not exist now."

The HEW Department's plan to deal with sex discrimination in sports probably will be completed in July. Then the Feds will be ready and apparently willing to go into action. "I presume," says Gregory, "we will proceed as we have in other civil rights cases. That is, we will act on complaints submitted to us."

Which reduces the issue to the following dialogue:

"You mean if there is a school where they spent $30,000 on boy's sports and $500 on girls' sports and a girl or her parents don't like the situation, she can complain to you?"

"Exactly."

"And where should the complaint be sent?"

"The address is: Director, Office for Civil Rights, Department of HEW, Washington, D.C. 20201."

"And then what might happen?"

"Based on past procedures we would first try to determine if the allegations were substantially correct. If they were, we would initiate conversations with the school involved. Often nothing more than this is necessary."

"But if talking did not produce any action, what would happen?"

"Our final recourse is to recommend that federal funds be withheld from the institution until the discriminatory situation is cleared up."

"And this might happen in the case of a school that discriminated against girls in athletics?"

"Oh, yes, of course."

The women's liberation movement has stirred up interest in athletic equality even though the most active women's rightists have paid little attention to sport. The most aggressive leaders of the movement have been more cerebral than physical types. Robin Morgan, a poet, eidtor and former child actress (Dagmar in the TV series *Mama*), is what is often called a radical feminist. She was a founder of WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell) and an organizer of the anti-Miss America demonstrations. "We were slow getting into sports because many of us didn't know the field," says Morgan. "But now the movement is becoming active in this area. We've become conscious of the body. It is a woman's right to control her body, be it wanting an abortion or wanting to strengthen it through sports."

Another far more conservative group, women physical education teachers, is beginning to agitate, if in a very genteel way, for better girls' athletic programs. In the past many members of this profession have been strongly opposed to females taking part in competitive sports. Until a decade ago the Division for Girls' and Women's Sports, a National Education Association affiliate made up of female physical educators, advised against interscholastic sports. Though this bias has been abolished as an official policy, many older DGWS members now teaching in schools remain cool toward out-of-gym-class games for girls.

"This profession is still dominated by women of my age group [fortyish]," says an active leader in physical-education affairs who for obvious reasons wishes to remain anonymous. "A good many of these people still are afraid of what competition will do to girls. I think they also are afraid of what competition will do to them. For years they have had easy jobs. They bring in the girls for a class, let them spend 15 minutes putting on their gym suits, then spend 15 minutes with some ladylike archery or volleyball, and the last 15 minutes of the period are devoted to taking a shower. Marks are given out on the basis of how often a girl remembers to bring her gym suit and how well she showers.

"These women, who have been sitting on their fannies for years, know that if girls' teams are organized, they are going to be expected to coach them. They are going to have to go out after school and compete for the girls' interest, compete against band, the dramatic club, boys and all the rest. Also, if they are going to coach, they are going to have to teach the girls something. As coaches, they themselves are going to be judged, because at the heart of competitive sports there is the win-lose situation, how well you do. All of which terrifies women who have not been challenged or challenged anybody in a long time. Many of the older teachers are retiring and their places are being taken by girls who have an interest in competitive sports and many even have been competitors themselves. Girls in their 20s now entering teaching are much more aggressive. They enjoy the risks that go along with sports."

To give the devil his due, not all men are chauvinists when it comes to women's athletics. Men who by accident or design have come to be coaches of women's teams—Ken Foreman in Washington, Harmon Brown in California, Doyle Weaver in Texas, Ed Temple in Tennessee, Jack Griffin in Maryland—and many others are effective campaigners for improved girls' programs. Throughout the country there are a number of school administrators who believe that improving girls' sports is desirable and necessary. One is James Bergene, principal of the 2,000-student C. M. Russell High School in Great Falls, Mont. Bergene feels that his $15,000 girls' program needs to be upgraded. "If athletics have a place in education, then they are as important for girls as boys," he says. "If they have no general educational value, if they are just something for boys and to entertain townspeople and alumni, then we should get rid of them. Any principal who is willing to support a strong boys' athletic program and is content to have a weak girls' one has no business calling himself an educator."

Jack Manley, the athletic director at Catonsville (Md.) Community College, holds similar notions: "We have eight girls' teams here and 10 for the men. Except for that difference, we divide everything down the middle. Men and women coaches are paid the same for the same sports. The girls get the same kind of uniforms and equipment. They travel the same way that the men do and get the same use of the same practice facilities. In fact, the biggest single expense we've had since I've been here [1959] is the $3,400 we spent this February to send our girls' volleyball team to Utah for the college championship. Some men on our staff said I was crazy to spend that kind of money on girls. I told them it was an honor for our girls to be good enough to play in the championship against big schools. After all, the chances aren't very good that our men's teams will ever compete against the likes of USC or Kansas."

Catonsville is one of an increasing number of small colleges experimenting with intentionally mixed teams, *i.e.*, squads which, by regulation, have so many girls and so many boys. Its intercollegiate badminton and bowling teams are organized in this way, and the tennis and golf squads soon may be. It is a relatively simple administrative maneuver that might do more to bring about sexual equality in high school and college athletics than an army of lawyers. "Forget all that stuff about men and women playing against each other; that wouldn't be much of a game," says one fearless observer of the athletic scene. "Let's just say you have men's and women's teams, and you score them together like the Russians do in track meets. Take basketball as an example—the NCAA championship. Instead of one game, you have a doubleheader, the UCLA men playing the Memphis State men and the UCLA women against the Memphis women. You add up the points from the two games and the college that has the highest total wins the national championship, wins the big trophy, wins Coach of the Year and all the rest. You can be sure that John Wooden and Gene Bartow are going to have girls' teams and good ones. Those girls are going to get everything in the way of help that the boys do, maybe more. Do that down the line and things are going to become equal quickly. Whether or not that would be good for the Republic is something else again."

Given the climate of the times, the reexamination of the female role and the apparent willingness of courts to back demands for better athletic opportunities for girls, it appears that many of the policies of the past are due for a change. The changes will affect not only the athletic system but society as well.

If substantially larger numbers of females take part in competitive athletics, the quality of, interest in and status derived from this play will increase appreciably. Sports previously thought too "difficult" or "physical" for girls may be opened to them. The demand for coaches and trainers, as well as for equipment specifically designed for females, will increase. In time, women's sports will attract greater public interest. The press will cover women's athletics more frequently and seriously. Sports heroines will be discovered. Women's professional sports will become more popular, more lucrative and thus more attractive in career terms.

Any large increase in participation by girls and women will radically affect boys' and men's sports. Resources allocated to male sports will be reduced, but there are many who do not regard such a cutback as a disaster. Some of the extravagant features that have come to characterize—and often corrupt—men's athletics will be cut away, too. Such enforced moderation may be in the best interest of both sexes.

What will athletic equality mean for females? One can only guess. David Auxter, an iconoclastic educator, former collegiate football player and coach, says "In America we use athletics extensively to teach, not fact so much as attitudes. Above all, we value athletics because they are competitive. That is, they teach that achievement and success are desirable, that they are worth disciplining oneself for. By keeping girls out of sports, we have denied them this educational experience. Our male-dominated society prefers females to be physically and psychologically dependent. Denying them athletic opportunities has been a good way of molding girls into the kind of humans we want them to be. Better athletic programs will develop more aggressive females, women with confidence who value personal achievement and have a strong sense of identity. I think that would be a good thing for us all."

Ellen Cornish, the distance runner who was pulled off the track when it was thought she might beat the boys in the high school dual meet, says, "Yes, I think I am more aggressive than most girls and maybe more aggressive than a lot of boys. I definitely think sports have helped to make me what I am, and I'm not sorry about it. I have some strong ideas about what I want to be and I don't feel that I have to fit into a role which other people assign me."

For most of the last seven years Cornish has devoted two or three hours a day, seven days a week, in an effort to develop her talents as a runner. Now, at 18, she is in the process of "retiring" from track. Next fall she will enter college as a pre-med student. Despite her years, she is a remarkably forceful, articulate and thoughtful human.

"I love to run and decided I was going to become the best runner I could," Cornish says. "People may have thought I was freaky, but that hasn't bothered me. What they want to think is their business and what I want to think and be is mine. I don't want to offend anyone, to put them down, but I want to be what I think is honest. I'd like to live my whole life that way. I probably won't run much anymore, but I do want to be something exceptional. I know I'll have to work at it and may have to live differently than most girls do, but now that doesn't frighten me at all. If I had not spent the time in track, I think I would have been frightened."

Certainly not the last words to be heard on the subject, but some persuasive enough to make a good conclusion to any discussion of what participation in sports may mean for girls and women, are those of Dr. Kathryn Clarenbach, professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin: "The overemphasis on protecting girls from strain or injury, and underemphasis on developing skills and experiencing teamwork, fits neatly into the pattern of the second sex. Girls are the spectators and the cheerleaders. They organize the pep clubs, sell pompons, make cute, abbreviated costumes, strut a bit between halves and idolize the current football hero. This is perfect preparation for the adult role of women—to stand decoratively on the sidelines of history and cheer on the men who make the decisions. Women who have had the regular experience of performing before others, of learning to win and to lose, of cooperating in team efforts, will be far less fearful of running for office, better able to take public positions on issues in the face of public opposition. By working toward some balance in the realm of physical activity, we may indeed begin to achieve a more wholesome, democratic balance in all phases of our life."

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[From Ms., July 1973]

## Giving Women a Sporting Chance

(By Brenda Feigen Fasteau)

For the first few weeks of the season, two eight-year-old girls longingly watched the practice sessions of a Montgomery, Alabama, boys' football team.

Finally, the coach broke down and let them play—but just for one season. I admire the stubbornness and audacity of these two little girls. I am also angry and sad that the same obstacles face them that faced me 20 years ago—when I was their age.

I wonder if they wish, as I once did, that they were boys. When you're that young, it's hard to see the value of being female because boys are permitted to do almost everything girls do, but not vice versa. It is especially hard when you love climbing trees and playing games, but are expected to play with dolls instead.

At about 13 years of age, it becomes even more painful, as boys, almost overnight, seem to grow stronger and bigger than girls. Although I was fairly good at sports and was on the girls' varsity field hockey, basketball, softball, and tennis teams, I was never as good as the best boys. It was small consolation that I was better at some sports—horseback riding and water-skiing. (Perhaps because these sports weren't as popular with boys.)

In athletics as we know them, the average man will probably beat the better-than-average woman. Scientists chalk it up to testosterone and the retention of nitrogen in men's muscles, which make them bigger and bulgier than women's. Even if this is true, the unhappy fact is that sports have been designed for men's rather than women's bodies—which means the emphasis is on strength. We have yet to see major promotion of sports utilizing women's unique flexibility (because of our less bulgy muscles) and better balance (as a result of our lower center of gravity). Gymnastics is the only widely practiced sport where women can outperform their male counterparts—especially on the balance team.

I still haven't fully accepted what it means to be smaller and weaker than most men. From a practical point of view, it shouldn't matter; but it always has inhibited my activities in ways that make strength and sex matter a great deal. For example, in college I learned to play squash. When I got to law school, I discovered that women were banned from the university's squash courts. By disguising myself as a man, I managed to invade the courts with a classmate who is now my husband. We had fun, but I never beat him.

Still, as I remind myself, that may have been as much a matter of opportunity as biology: he's been able to play squash whenever he's wanted to and on courts where I wasn't allowed because of my sex.

Exclusion of women in sports is a concrete and difficult problem. But most young women never even reach the point of challenging their exclusion from their college's athletic facilities or varsity teams. By that time, they have been well conditioned to think of gyms as a drag—often doing dancing and exercises, instead of conditioning their bodies; boys, meanwhile, are encouraged to get "into condition" to enjoy their athletic ability.

Then there are the subtle discouragements: the unenlightened suspicion that a woman's interest in athletics violates the docile female stereotype and indicates lesbianism (remember the rumors about gym teachers?); the insinuation that if she shows too much interest in sports she may not be able to catch a man; and the general scoffing at women's athletic achievements. One Chicago high school teacher points to clearcut evidence of sex discrimination in sports. "In the latest edition of the school paper, there were five articles on football and no mention at all of the girls' tennis team which had won its last three matches."

I don't mean to suggest that sports should become for women what they have been for many men: a display of aggression, a proof of toughness, and a kind of primitive communication that replaces emotional intimacy. Sweating, swearing, and grunting together as they play, men manage to create a fellowship which they find hard to sustain elsewhere. And sports provide men with yet another vehicle to test domination and preeminence. ("Let the best man win.")

Women, however, often do communicate with each other in noncompetitive, nonathletic situations; they are generally better able to express emotion, and seem to care less about beating each other into submission. Our self-images (unless we are professional athletes) aren't much affected by winning a tennis match. While this may reveal something positive, it also unfortunately indicates that women are conditioned not to take themselves seriously in sports.

Of course, the majority of men do not take the sportswoman seriously, either. I notice that whenever I'm interested in playing tennis with a male partner, no matter how well matched we might be, he invariably prefers to play against another man no better than I. Partly, this reflects his fear of losing to a mere woman. But in a deeper sense, playing with another man seems to reinforce his own competitive sense of masculinity. If he beats another man, he's somehow more of a man himself. If he beats me, it's irrelevant, predictable. Losing is a blow to his ego whether it's to me or a man, but it's a diversion to play with me; the real contest is man-to-man combat.

However, there are encouraging signs that participation in sports is becoming important to women of all ages. Women are beginning to demand their rights as athletes. In New Jersey, for instance, the State Division on Civil Rights found probable cause in a case brought by a local National Organization for Women chapter because girls were barred from the all-boy Little League team. Most often, sex discrimination charges are filed when girls want to engage in a particular sport which a school offers only to boys. Lawsuits or the threat of legal action have led many schools to accept girls on boys' teams, especially in noncontact sports.

One of the highest courts to rule on the issue of integrating high school teams on the basis of sex is the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit. In the case of *Morris v. Michigan High School Athletic Association* last January, that court affirmed a lower court order that girls may not be prevented from participating fully in interscholastic noncontact athletics. As a result of the desire of Cynthia Morris and Emily Barrett to participate in interscholastic tennis matches many high school girls have benefited. In addition, after this complaint was filed, the Michigan Legislature enacted a law guaranteeing that all female pupils be permitted to participate in noncontact interscholastic athletic activities and to compete for a position on the boys' team even if a girls' team exists.

New York and New Mexico now also have new regulations which call for the integration of the sexes in all noncontact sports wherever there is a high school team for boys but not for girls. And lawyers of the American Civil Liberties Union have caused at least five other states—Connecticut, New Jersey, Indiana, Minnesota, and Nebraska—to integrate noncontact sports in their high schools. As a result of litigation, female track stars in Connecticut and Minnesota have made their way onto the men's teams. A young Minnesota woman is now on the boys' skiing team of her high school; another has joined the boys' tennis team of hers.

The Indiana Supreme Court, responding favorably to a class action by a female high school student wishing to play on the boys' golf team, held that the Indiana High School Athletic Association rule against "mixed" participation in noncontact sports was a denial of equal protection under the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution. (Any institution receiving federal or state money may be in violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment if it discriminates against women students and coaches in athletic programs; sex discrimination in schools which receive federal funds also violates the Education Amendments of 1972 which recently became federal law.)

In New Jersey a high school sophomore successfully challenged a rule of the state Interscholastic Athletic Association that prohibited high school women from competing on varsity tennis teams. A pilot program has began in New Jersey to allow girls to compete with boys for positions on varsity teams and to encourage schools to upgrade physical education programs for girls. Specifically, the ruling makes clear that outstanding female athletes receive opportunities for training and competition at their ability levels. Lawsuits have also been won in Louisiana and Oklahoma.

In many of these cases there are no girls' teams, so it's easy to decide that interested girls must be allowed to play with the boys. It is more difficult to resolve the question where a girls' team and a boys' team exist for the same sport. If the highly talented girl athlete is encouraged to join the boys' team at the high school level, why not at the college level? Or in the Olympics and other amateur athletic competition? And if at the Olympics, why not in professional sports?

Unfortunately, no American woman would have made the Olympics if the team had been integrated and if the same criteria for selection were applied to both sexes. The very best men—the ones who enter the Olympic tryouts—are still better than the very best women. And certainly at the professional level, women in direct competition with top men would be in trouble in almost every sport. It is debatable whether Billie Jean King, the Number One women tennis player in the world, would even make the top 10 if male and femal professional tennis players competed against each other.

At the professional level, the point is occasionally made that because women aren't as good as men the purse in women's tournaments is legitimately smaller.

This argument overlooks the fact that women pros, such as Ms. King in tennis, draw crowds just as large if not larger than the men they can't beat and that such women regularly capture the headlines in sports columns.

In any high school or college, integrating teams on an "ability only" basis could result in a new form of exclusion for women players. It would effectively eliminate all opportunities for them to play in organized coached competition.

Obviously, therefore, school athletic training programs have to be developed to balance the scales, and equal financial attention must be paid to both sexes. To begin with the human resource, coaches of women's teams must be paid as much as coaches of men's teams. A woman high school basketball coach recently produced figures showing an allocation by the Syracuse Board of Education of $98,000 for male coaches and $200 for female coaches. Discrepancies between women's and men's salaries may violate not only the 14th Amendment to the Consituation but virtually every piece of legislation in the area of sex discrimination in employment and education. Scholarships, too, must be equalized. The first and, it seems, the only university to establish an athletic scholarship for women is the University of Chicago.

As for the students themselves, Minnesota and Utah lawsuits are asking that equal resources—money and personnel—be devoted to physical education for girls and boys. From the first grade through college, girls and boys should have gym classes together with equal access to athletic facilities and instruction. Students, regardless of sex, should be encouraged to perform to the best of their individual ability.

Until puberty, there are insufficient height or strength differences between girls and boys to justify predominately female or male sports below the junior high school level. Girls and boys from an early age should be taught judo or other skills which convey a sense of their own individual strength and agility. If at some point girls and boys prefer different sports, they can individually separate themselves according to these preferences.

Until there is a relaxation of the external cultural pressure for males to prove their masculinity, boys may well choose sports like football, wrestling, and boxing. In any case, a girl wanting to play football should be permitted to try out for the boys' team if an entire girls' team cannot be formed. Girls with the skills to make the boys' team should have the opportunity to play. I am now arguing in court for the right of a woman student at City College in New York to participate in a men's basketball course because there is none offered for women.

That only noncontact sports are considered suitable for sex-integration is nonsensical. As one proponent for the integration of contact sports puts it: "If we are worried about girls' breasts and internal organs, then give them chest and belly protectors. We haven't spared out male football players any expense in that department. We can't declare that because we think many or even most girls cannot or will not play in certain sports that *none* may therefore be allowed to." To match this myth about women's participation in contact sports, there is also a long-standing controversy over the definition of "contact sports." (Baseball and basketball are considered contact sports.)

Because girls have not enjoyed the same physical and psychological opportunities as boys to develop athletically, I believe that resources must be made available for at least two interscholastic teams per sport: one for girls and one for boys. While sex-segregated teams may sound like the long-discredited separate-but-equal doctrine, it is through a process of careful elimination that this policy emerges as the most viable. The four other alternatives listed below are simply *not* equitable:

1. A system involving ability-determined first- and second-string teams will undoubtedly result in two mostly male teams and no greatly increased participation for females.
2. A first-string team that is sex-integrated to absorb top talent of both sexes plus a second-string all-girl team would increase girls' participation but it runs afoul of boys' rights by excluding them from the second team.
3. If the first-string team is based solely on ability and the second-string members are evenly divided, boys and girls, the system ends up favoring boys again by assuring them representation on what amounts to one and one-half out of two teams.
4. The quota solution requiring half boys and half girls presents both practical and psychological problems: intrateam ostracizing of the girls who dilute the

overall performance, and interteam explotiation of the "weaker" sex members of the opposing team.

So we're left with the "separate-but-equal" solution. While it may penalize the outstanding female athlete who must play on girls' teams regardless of whether she qualifies for the boys' team, it has the singular advantage of giving boys and girls an equal opportunity to compete interscholastically. That is, in my view, an adequate response to the argument that in sports, as in other areas, women should be compensated for past discriminations. The contention that women should be allowed to try out for men's teams, even if there are comparable women's teams, is potentially unfair to the men who can't make the men's teams but might make the women's teams. Even more importantly, it cheats the women's team which would lose its best athletes to the male squads, thus setting women's sports back even farther.

Where girls' sports are taken seriously at the high school and college level, the results are striking. Thoughout Iowa, for instance, girls' basketball draws the *bigger* crowds. The coaching is excellent, and the facilities and equipment are first-rate. Because women's basketball is a matter of state pride, high school and college women in Iowa eagerly try out without feeling the traditional stigma and scorn so frequently associated with women's sports.

Marcia Federbush of Michigan suggests an Olympic-style system to solve the inevitable imbalances of participation, resource allocation and spectator interest: the girls' varsity and the boys' varsity would *together* constitute the school's varsity team. On the same day or evening both teams would play their counterparts from another school (alternating the game order since the second game is inevitably the star attraction). At the end of the two games the point scores would be totaled. If the boys' basketball squad won 75–70 and the girls' basketball team lost with a score of 60-80, the final school score would amount to a 15-point loss.

The girls' and boys' teams would travel together and use the same facilities. They would enjoy equally skilled (and equally paid) coaching staffs, equal budgets, game schedules, uniforms, equipment, combined publicity attention, and a shared spotlight.

Clearly, when interdependence leads to team success, the primary advantage would be the shared commitment in *two* strong separate-but-equal teams.

## BACKGROUND MATERIAL

project on the status
and education of **women**

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# WOMEN IN FELLOWSHIP AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

**by CYNTHIA L. ATTWOOD**

November 1972

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**THE PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN** of the Association of American Colleges began operations in September of 1971. The Project provides a clearinghouse of information concerning women in education and works with institutions, government agencies, other associations and programs affecting women in higher education. In addition, the Project from time to time sponsors short-term result-oriented studies or activities, such as this report and the conference which followed it. The Project is funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Danforth Foundation, and the Exxon Education Foundation.

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# PREFACE

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The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and may not represent the policy of the Association of American Colleges or the Exxon Education Foundation.

# I. INTRODUCTION

> At the time I applied I had completed the course work for a Ph.D. in mathematics; had worked for AT&T in a very responsible position; was the first woman professional to be employed by the Navy in communications analysis and had briefed Admiral X during a military crisis; and I had published a number of papers in my field. Yet during the personal interview I was asked several questions about who was going to take care of the children, and how did I see my division of responsibility between husband, home and job.
>
> *Taken from interview with a former candidate for White House Fellows Program.*

The thousands of graduate fellowships[1] and traineeships annually granted in the United States are of great importance to both men and women. As well as providing financial aid, these programs provide opportunities to gain specialized knowledge, to develop leadership skills, to make political contacts, and to increase personal growth and awareness of developments in one's own field. Thus, in providing such "qualifications," fellowships and traineeships play a critical role in the development of the country's most successful scholars, professionals and leaders. They also represent a unique opportunity to break down many of the biases which presently operate against women in both higher education and the job market.

In order to learn more about the pattern and effects of fellowship competition on women, the Association of American Colleges undertook a survey of fellowship programs. Beginning in June 1972, 68 different fellowship programs sponsored by 28 government agencies, private organizations and foundations were asked to provide data on the numbers and percentages of women applicants and women recipients, recruiting and selection procedures, content of application forms, the number of women on selection boards, and policies against sex discrimination. Programs were selected for study mainly on the basis of size and national visibility.[2] Some personal interviews were conducted. Additional information was made available by the Project on Fellowships and Foundations of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL). All but a few program sponsors responded with the information requested. Several programs replied that they had never compiled data on female applicants. Among these were the Nieman Foundation and the Guggenheim Foundation.

## II. SURVEY RESULTS

### A. How Many Women Receive Awards?

In 1972-73 about 80 percent of the nation's most prestigious fellowships and awards will go to men. In some of the most competitive programs, such as Guggenheim Fellowships, White House Fellows and Nieman Fellows, well over 90 percent will be held by men. Only in a few fellowship programs, such as the Graduate Fellowships in City Planning and Urban Studies (administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development) and the Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowships, have women comprised 30 percent or above of the recipients.

In twelve of the forty programs which provided data on the number of applicants, less than ten percent of the applicants were women. In all but eleven programs, women represented less than 25 percent of the applicants. Programs in the humanities and social sciences generally had a higher level of female applicants than programs in the natural sciences and educational administration. In short, far fewer women than men apply or are nominated for fellowships.

### B. Are Women Likely to Receive Awards When They Apply?

The success of women who do apply or are nominated varies widely. In about 28 percent of the programs, the percentage of women recipients was *less* than the percentage of women applicants in the most recent year reported (usually 1971-72). A good example is the White House Fellows Program in which women were ten percent of the applicants, but only six percent of the recipients. In about 28 percent of the programs the percentage of women applicants closely approximated the percentage of female recipients. In the remaining 45 percent of the programs, the percentage of women recipients was significantly *higher* than that of applicants. An interesting example of this phenomenon was found in the Congressional Fellows Program (administered by the American Political Science Association), which for several years had *no* women recipients. This year 15 of the 200 applicants were women: four of these women received fellowships. Thus women were 7.5 percent of the applicants and 26.7 percent of the recipients.

### C. Are Women Involved in the Selection Process?

Women seemed to play an insignificant part in the selection process. In the programs we were able to study, many selection panels had no female members. Most programs had less than 15 percent female selection board members. In only four programs did women represent more than one-third of the selection committee members, the highest (41 percent) being the Ford Foundation's Graduate Fellowships for Black Students.

# III. PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS ABOUT WOMEN IN FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS

## A. Why Do So Few Women Apply? Why Are So Few Nominated?

1. *Is There a Shortage of "Qualified" Women?* The question of eligible women applicants cannot be adequately discussed without looking at the general educational situation of women. Although the percentage of women receiving baccalaureate and post-baccalaureate degrees has increased slightly over the last few years, the record of women in higher education is *worse* today than it was in 1930, when women were 47 percent of undergraduates, and 28 percent of doctorates. In 1968, women made up 43.4 percent of those receiving B.A. degrees, and 12.6 percent of those awarded doctorates.[3] It is estimated that only one of 300 women in the United States today who has the potential to earn a Ph.D. does so, while one of every 30 men with that potential receives a Ph.D.[4] Witnesses testifying before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor attributed the sharp decline in the percentage of women at the highest levels of education to "the reality and fear of higher admission standards," to the channeling of women into "women's fields," and to discouraging encounters between female students and professors and admissions officers.[5]

Moreover, the reasons for the generally low rate of application for fellowships by women may vary from program to program, and are in part related to the size of the pool of eligibles. Women make up a very small percentage of scientists in the United States (6.7 percent of Ph.D.'s in 1970), while the percentage of women in the humanities and education is substantial (20.7 percent of Ph.D.'s in 1970). Therefore it is not surprising that fewer women apply for fellowships and grants in the sciences than in the humanities. Across the board, the higher the educational level, the fewer women there are. However, because of new federal laws which prohibit discrimination in admission to graduate schools and the rapidly changing career patterns of women, the number of women with graduate degrees is expected to increase.

2. *Are "Qualified" Women Less Likely to Apply Than Men?* The number of women in the eligible population is often *greater* than their participation rates in fellowship programs. For example, although women are 11.4 percent of the Ph.D.'s in political science, until 1972 only four percent of the applicants for the Congressional Fellows Program were women. And from 1968 to 1972 (1973 showed a large jump in female recipients) women have averaged four percent of the awards. The disparity of these figures is typical of many programs. Generally, a smaller percentage of women apply than their proportion of the pool of eligibles would indicate.

One explanation for the fact that women do not apply in as great numbers as would be expected is that a great deal of information concerning available fellowship and grant funds is spread informally throughout undergraduate and graduate departments: since women are often outside of these informal channels they may not receive word of the opportunities available. Other factors, such as lack of encouragement or poor counseling, undoubtedly contribute to the relatively poor application rate.

3. *Does the Requirement of Full-Time Study Keep Women Out?* One of the most important factors, particularly in the area of graduate fellowships, is that most fellowships and grants require the recipient to devote full time to his or her studies. Because women in our society are for the most part the primary child rearers, a large proportion of women pursuing graduate education must do so on a part-time basis.[6] ***They are therefore ineligible for almost every form of fellowship and grant aid available.***

4. *Do Age Requirements Keep Women Out?* Many highly talented women who postpone their education or who enter the workforce late because of child rearing responsibilities, also find themselves ineligible for some of the most valuable fellowships because they are past the maximum age requirement. Women generally begin and complete their advanced education at a later age than men. Therefore programs which require an applicant to be under thirty or thirty-five years of age exclude a higher proportion of otherwise qualified female candidates than male candidates.

5. *Do Some Programs Inadvertently Discourage Women from Applying?* Although few programs officially exclude women applicants, some programs may give the inadvertent impression that they are "male" enterprises. The consistent use of the word "he" when referring to applicants in informational brochures may give the reader the impression that women are not welcome as applicants. Similarly, pictures of male recipients only, and questions about one's wife (rather than one's spouse), particularly in programs which have traditionally been overwhelmingly masculine, may have the unintended effect of discouraging female applicants. In an announcement recently distributed at the Library of Congress, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars described itself as "a place where *men of letters* and *men of public affairs* . . . work together on topics of mutual interest for brief or sustained periods of time." [Emphasis added] Such phrases give the impression, however unintended, that the program is male oriented.

**B. Why Do Women Who Apply Have Greater Success in Some Programs Than in Others?**

1. *Are the Women Who Apply More Qualified Than the Men Who Apply?* The data collected show that women applicants are less likely to receive awards than male applicants in about 28 percent of the programs studied; women are *more* likely to be successful than their male counterparts in 45 percent of the programs. The fact that female applicants fare better than male applicants in these programs is not as surprising as it might at first seem. Although fewer women than men attend college and graduate school, those women who do pursue a higher education are highly motivated and often have better academic records than their male counterparts. Women enter college with slightly higher high school records than men. Similarly a 1965 sampling of graduate

degree-credit students showed that 68 percent of women students, compared to 54 percent of men students, had B or better college averages.[7] And at the University of Chicago women's grade point averages are, on the average, significantly higher than men's: 9.1 percent of the women, compared with 6.8 percent of the men, had straight A averages; 24.9 percent of the women had A-averages, while 20.1 percent of the men reported such averages; 32.2 percent of the women had B+ averages compared with 31.6 percent of the men. And 41 percent of the men had grade averages of B or lower, compared with 30 percent of the women.[8] As a group female Ph.D.'s have higher IQ's, higher G.P.A.'s, and higher class rank than male Ph.D.'s.[9] Therefore it is not unlikely that female fellowship applicants are more qualified than male applicants as a group.

Another factor which contributes to the high quality of female applicants is that a more rigorous process of self-selection occurs among potential female applicants than among males. Given the obstacles which women face in higher education, it is probable that they are less likely than men to put themselves forward for programs or positions where the likelihood of success is small. Therefore only those women with the most impeccable qualifications are likely to apply to the "high risk" programs.

Another factor to be considered is that in programs in which potential recipients must be nominated, it is possible that nominators put forward women candidates who are significantly better qualified that the average male nominee. The old adage, "a woman has to be twice as good as a man to succeed," may well apply to the nomination process. Even in the non-nominating programs, the informal advice to apply for a fellowship is likely to be directed to a woman who is clearly superior to available male candidates.

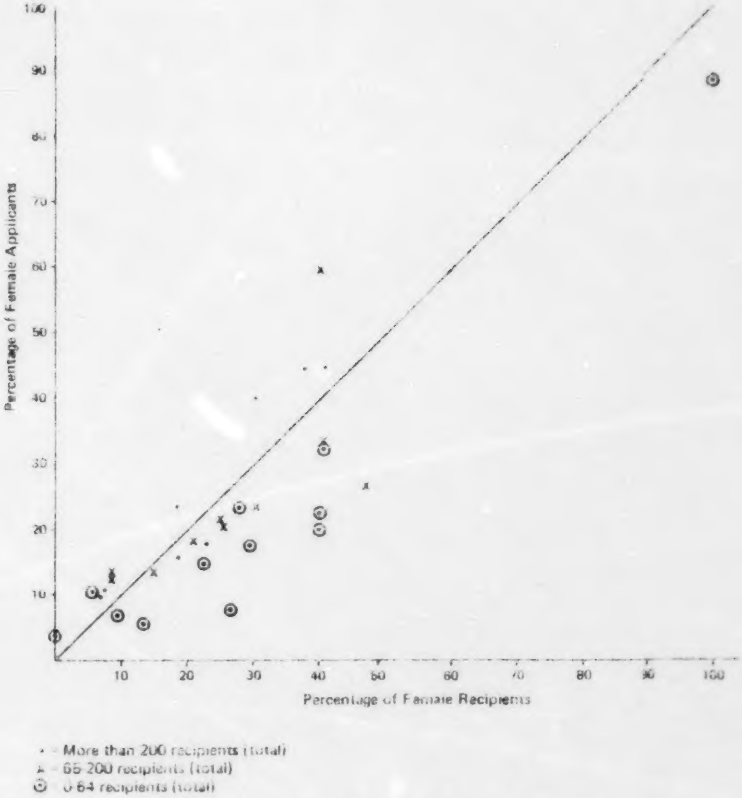
All of these factors support the notion that women applicants are as a group somewhat more likely to be more highly qualified than male applicants. It comes as no surprise therefore that women applicants have a greater likelihood of success than male applicants in some programs; indeed that is exactly what one would expect. In contrast, it *is* difficult to explain why women are much *less* likely to be recipients than men in almost one-third of the programs studied.

2. *Does the Size of the Program and the Percentage of Women Applicants Make a Difference?* Two interesting conclusions can be drawn from the data collected: 1) Women who apply to small programs are more likely to be successful than women who apply to large programs; and 2) In programs with very small and very large percentages of female applicants, women fare less well than in programs where women make up 15 to 29 percent of the applicants. Graph 1 illustrates the first point. It shows that, in six out of seven of the largest programs, women represent a smaller percentage of the total recipients than they do of the total applicants.[10] In three out of ten medium-sized programs women fare less well than men, while in ten of the twelve smallest programs studied women constituted a larger percentage of the total recipients than of the total applicants. The larger the program, the less successful women are, as a ratio of recipients to applicants.

The reasons for women's relatively greater success in the smaller fellowship programs are not clear. These programs are diverse: they aid students, scholars and professionals in such fields as history, political science, anthropology, health, physics, and educational administration, and are aimed at graduate students,

## Graph 1

## Success of Female Applicants by Program Size
## (For Most Recent Year Reported)



*Explanation.* All points above the diagonal line represent programs in which the percentage of female recipients was smaller than the percentage of female applicants. All points below the diagonal line represent programs in which the percentage of female recipients was greater than the percentage of female applicants.

postdoctoral researchers, and other professionals. In short they have nothing in common except their size. Why size should play a significant role in the success of female applicants is open to speculation.

Graph 2 illustrates the second conclusion: that women fare less well in programs where there is a very large or very small percentage of women applicants than they do in programs with a medium number of women applicants. It shows that there is a correlation between the number of female applicants as a percentage of total applicants and the success of female applicants. In programs where women represent either a very large or a very small proportion of the applicants, those applicants are less likely to receive awards than their male counterparts. However, in programs where women make up a medium percentage of applicants, women are more likely to succeed than men.

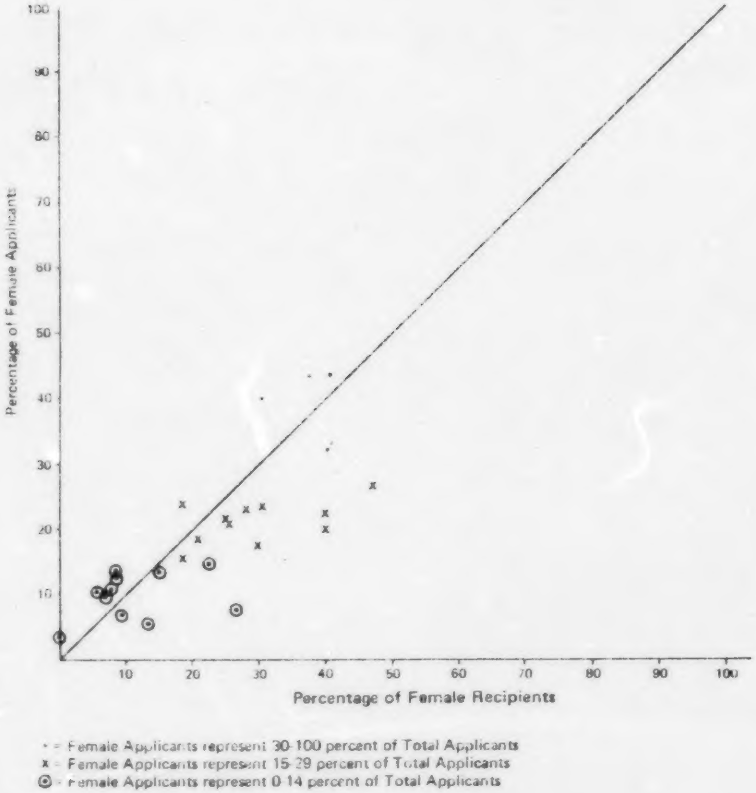
The reasons for this pattern in success rates are not altogether clear. Three of the six programs with low female application rates and in which women fare less well than men are in the natural sciences, while none of the five programs in which women exceed men are in the sciences. However, of the two science programs in the category with medium female application rates, in one the female acceptance rate is better than the male rate, while in the other the reverse is true. No science program attracts more than 30 percent female applicants; so it is difficult to draw conclusions from the data on science programs in the first two categories. However, it may be that in programs that attract very few female applicants, particularly in the natural sciences, women applicants are more closely scrutinized than their male counterparts because of assumptions about women's ability to excel in what is conceived of as a man's field.

3. *Are There Social Barriers That Lower Women's Participation?* Graph 2 shows that more female applicants does not necessarily mean more female recipients. In programs which attract a large proportion of women applicants, women may suffer from a conscious or unconscious desire on the part of selection panels to limit the number of female recipients. This desire might stem from general attitudes on the part of both men and women that a "*really* rigorous program" is more appropriate for men than for women, or that fellowship aid for a woman is a bad risk.

The myth that a woman, even when highly qualified, is a bad risk, either for employment or fellowship aid, is one that dies hard. There is substantial evidence, however, that such myths adversely affect women throughout their educational careers and employment. For example, there have been recent studies which demonstrate that female undergraduates, although their qualifications are on average better than those of male undergraduates and their financial need is equivalent, have greater difficulty in obtaining financial aid, and must therefore rely more heavily on loans than male students.[11] There is some indication that this pattern may continue on the graduate level. For example, Astin in a study of the career profiles of women doctorates,[12] noted that women were less likely to receive aid from the government or their institutions, and were therefore more likely to rely on their own savings or support from their families and/or spouses.

## Graph 2

### Success of Female Applicants by Percentage of Female Applicants (For Most Recent Year Reported)



*Explanation:* All points above the diagonal line represent programs in which the percentage of female recipients was smaller than the percentage of female applicants. All points below the diagonal line represent programs in which the percentage of female recipients was greater than the percentage of female applicants.

**Table 1**

**Sources of Stipend Support for Doctorates of 1950-1960**[13]
**(In Percentages)**

| Source | Women<br>(N = 482) | Men<br>(N = 5,757) |
|---|---|---|
| Government | 12 | 22 |
| Institution | 34 | 36 |
| Own savings or support from family or spouse | 50 | 42 |
| Other | 4 | No information |
| | 100 | 100 |

While 58 percent of the men received financial support from the government or from their institution, only 46 percent of the women received such aid.

Without further research it is difficult to speculate how great a part "bad risk" assumptions play in the evaluation of female candidates in the programs studied. It is clear, however, that fears that women will "drop out" of their professions to raise a family are unfounded. A 1968 study of women who received their doctorates in 1957 and 1958 showed that *91 percent* of those doctorates were working. Of those who were working at the time of the survey, 79 percent had *never* interrupted their careers; only 18 percent had experienced career interruptions lasting 11 to 15 months, a figure which is comparable to the length of interruption men experience because of military obligations.[14]

4. *How Does the Selection Process Affect Women As Recipients?* The structure of the selection process also has a direct, if unquantifiable, effect on women. Many of the most prestigious fellowship programs use a multi-level selection process in which applicants are screened and eliminations are made at both the regional and national level. Because of the difficulties in obtaining data on the numbers of women and men eliminated at each level of competition, the study was only able to secure such information from the White House Fellows Program. However, because the structure of the selection process may play a large part in the relative success or failure of female applicants, data on the White House Fellows Program are included to provide some insight into this aspect of the business of awarding fellowships.

In 1972, women comprised 10 percent of the total applicants for the White House Fellows Program, 12.9 percent of the semi-finalists, 14.6 percent of the regional finalists, 15.2 percent of the national finalists. Yet, at the *final* selection level, when the recipients were announced there was *only one woman out of 17 fellows, or six percent,* which is nine percentage points lower than the number of women finalists. A similar pattern was found for 1971. In both years relatively few women applied. Yet as the fellowship candidates moved higher in the selection process the percentage of women increased. In other words, a higher percentage of women than men survived the initial levels of competition. What is striking is that although women were 16.7 percent and 15.2 percent of the finalists in 1971 and 1972 respectively, only 12.5 percent of the Fellows in 1971 were women, while only 5.9 percent in 1972 were women. Without greater knowledge of the mechanics of the final selection process it is difficult to speculate why the percentage of female recipients was below that of the finalists. However, a similar analysis of all multi-level selection processes might yield vital information about the real distance between being a "qualified applicant" and a fellowship reject.

# IV. RECOMMENDATIONS* FOR INCREASING THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

Any increase in the number of women participants in fellowship, traineeship, and internship programs is limited by the size of the pool of eligible women. However, that pool is increasing yearly, as more women seek graduate educations and enter professional fields. Even within the present constraints much can be done to ensure that more qualified women apply for and receive awards.

## A. Increasing the Number of Women Who Apply

Women need to know about fellowships and that they are welcome to apply. Those people in a position to nominate and/or inform future participants need to know that the fellowship policy is one which encourages women.

1. *Develop an Affirmative Action Plan to Increase the Participation of Women.* A number of non-profit organizations (such as the Institute of Educational Management and the White House Fellows) have hired women consultants or designated one person to act as recruiter for women applicants. Having such a person helps ensure that policies and practices are evaluated, initiated or changed if necessary.

2. *Redesign Informational and Promotional Materials* so that they encourage the nomination and promotion of women applicants. For example, references to candidates and program participants should be changed from "he" to "he or she." This seemingly minor change makes it clear to potential applicants and others that *both female and male* applicants are welcomed. Pictures and stories about women recipients, statements of nondiscriminatory policy (including statements about the program's interest in recruiting women) are also likely to be helpful. *Serious consideration should be given to the inclusion on all informational materials of a positive statement, such as "Women and minorities (including minority women) are encouraged to apply."*

3. *Generate Greater Publicity about the Fellowship Program Where Women Are Likely to Learn about It.* For example, announcements of the program, and the interest of the program in recruiting women could appear in the newsletters of the professional women's caucuses and organizations, as well as in other women's newsletters and journals. Letters of recruitment that are routinely circulated among professors and government officials should also specifically be sent to women professionals and leaders. *In some instances, notices in alumnae*

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*The reader is reminded that these recommendations are those of the writer and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Association of American Colleges or the Exxon Education Foundation. The recommendations and elaborations in italics were added as a result of the conference.

*and alumni magazines and campus newspapers might also be appropriate. Special efforts should be made to publicize the program and recruit women on campuses which are predominantly female or which have a significant number of women students.* (It should not be underestimated how difficult it is going to be to change the image of some programs. At a recent meeting of a professional women's association, the announcement that one national fellowship program was sincerely seeking women was greeted with cynical laughter and disbelief.)

4. *Specifically Call Attention to the Program's Interest in Women.* Contacts with traditional sources of applications, *e.g.* university department heads, deans and presidents, need to specify that the program is actively interested in seeking women. The American Council on Education dramatically increased the number of female lay participants from six percent in 1972 to 23 percent in 1973 by asking potential nominators by letter "to respond to the special need for nominations of qualified women and minority group members." Program sponsors can also place announcements in educational and professional journals, as well as in the general press, about the program's interest in recruiting women applicants. (The White House Fellowships Program has recently done this with good results.)

5. *Provide for More Flexible Requirements.* Because many women hit their stride later than men, low age limits have a disproportionate effect in excluding women. Many women otherwise qualified are ineligible to apply for fellowships because of the maximum age requirements. *In addition, there should be no regulations forbidding married couples from both receiving fellowships simultaneously.*

6. *Allow for Part-Time Use of Awards.* Many women have family commitments that may force them to complete their education on a part-time basis. The requirement that fellowship recipients work full time has a disproportionate effect in excluding women. Allowing women to spread a one year award over a two year period would lend much needed flexibility to such programs. (At least two sponsors have experimented with part-time grants. The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation some years ago allowed a small number of Fellows to use their one year awards over a two year period, in order to attend graduate school part time. The National Science Foundation in 1970 allowed universities the option to use new or continuation traineeships for several part-time students. One university utilized two traineeships to support five part-time trainees, all of whom were women.) Sponsors should give consideration to formulating similar part-time plans.

### B. Increasing the Number of Women Who Receive Awards

1. *Develop an Official Policy Forbidding Discrimination on the Basis of Sex.* The policy should be communicated to nominators and to those persons involved in the selection process. (Many programs already forbid discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin and religion.)

2. *Increase the Number of Women on Selection Boards and Throughout the Selection Process.* There is no evidence that greater numbers of women in the selection process will produce favoritism toward women candidates. However,

women on the selection boards will improve the image of receptivity to women candidates, and would enlarge the circle of women professionals who know about the program. *Programs might well use the resources and rosters of women's caucuses and organizations to find qualified women to serve on selection committees.*

3. *Review Selection Procedures and Policies.* An increase in the proportion of women applicants will not result in more women recipients if there is bias against women at the selection level. Such bias does not often take obvious forms, but may be couched in unverified assumptions that application reviewers inadvertently make about women. One staff member of a major fellowship program reported that there had been times when a woman was ranked lower on the list of potential recipients because of the assumption that, as she was married, her husband could support her, and that therefore her need for a fellowship was not great. Similarly, a single or divorced woman may be turned down because it is assumed that she will marry and quit professional work. Questions about what a woman will do with her young children, or how her husband will feel if she has to travel in order to take advantage of her grant, are rarely asked of male applicants. In any event, they are irrelevant for judging qualifications. Although it is difficult to pinpoint these assumptions and attitudes, program sponsors should nevertheless make it clear to their selection committee members that such attitudes about women in general should play no part in the selection of individuals.

4. *Compliance with the New Federal Law.* Many federal programs allow local universities and colleges to select federal fellowship and traineeship recipients. Such programs now have a new tool to ensure that institutions of higher education do not discriminate on the basis of sex. Although federal agencies have previously informed institutions that they cannot discriminate on the basis of race, color or national origin under the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, participating institutions have not been requested to choose recipients without regard to sex.[15] Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 (Higher Education Act), effective July 1, 1972, provides:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. . . .

Thus no college or university which receives any form of federal financial assistance may discriminate on the basis of sex in *any* of the public or privately sponsored fellowship programs in which it is involved. In order to be in compliance with the law, the institution may not discriminate on the basis of sex in the process of nominating or recommending candidates. Sponsors of all fellowship and other awards programs which rely on such input can aid institutions in the administration of the nomination process by informing them of their new responsibility under the law.

5. Dependency Allowances *should be reviewed to determine if they are awarded to women and men on an unequal basis.*

### C. Recruiting Minority Women

Recruiting for women should in no way diminish efforts to recruit minorities. Programs for minorities and for women need to pay special attention to *minority women.* Staff and selection committee members need to keep in mind that "minority" does not mean minority *males* only, and that "women" does not mean *white* women only.

### D. Establish Networks to Communicate the Names of Qualified Female Applicants to Universities and Other Fellowship Programs

Few fellowship programs can ever award fellowships to all qualified candidates. In addition, fellowship sponsors often get applications from highly qualified candidates who *ought* to get funding from someone but who for some reason or other do not fit within the scope of the program applied to. A method of transmitting the names of such people to interested organizations might be devised. For many years The Ford Foundation employed such a procedure with its applicants for graduate fellowships for minority students. Ford would annually send a list of the names, addresses, and educational affiliations of all minority applicants to all major graduate schools throughout the country. Many graduate schools would then use this list to recruit minority graduate students.

A system similar to the one employed by The Ford Foundation could be set up for women applicants for fellowship aid. Fellowship sponsors could prepare lists and distribute them to other interested fellowship sponsors and universities. In this way more women will be put in touch with appropriate sources of fellowship aid.

## V. SUMMARY

There is little doubt that the participation of women in fellowship programs needs to be increased. Such fellowships, traineeships, and internships play a large part in the process of educating the best American scholars, professionals, and business and government leaders. Until women achieve a higher participation rate in these programs, many qualified women will lack one of the more important credentials necessary for career upward mobility. They will always be less "qualified." The participation of women in fellowship and award programs may be coming to a test because several of the largest federal programs have been suspended, or are being phased out. As this process continues, more and more qualified students and scholars will be turning to private sources of funding. Whether or not women achieve parity with their male colleagues as recipients of fellowship aid in a period where the demand for such aid far exceeds the supply, is dependent in large part on whether fellowship sponsors determine that funding female students and professionals is an important goal.

## NOTES

[1] This report uses "fellowship" as an umbrella term to include leadership training programs, fellowships, grants, internships. While not precise there is no one term which accurately conveys the full range of these programs.

[2] The programs surveyed are listed in Appendix A. For a table of the results see Appendix B.

[3] Murray, P., "Economic and Educational Inequality Based on Sex: An Overview," *Valparaiso University Law Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1971, p. 255.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 257, n. 66.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Astin, Helen, *The Woman Doctorate in America,* Hartford, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1969, p. 35.

[7] Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, on Section 805 of H.R. 16098, 91st Cong., 2d Sess., p. 642-3.

[8] Hearings, *Ibid.*, p. 247.

[9] Hearings, *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[10] A graph based on the size of program by total number of applicants yielded similar results.

[11] Haven, Elizabeth W. and Horch, Dwight H.,*How Students Finance Their Education: A National Survey of the Educational Interests, Aspirations, and Finances of College Sophomores in 1969-70.* New York College Entrance Examination Board, January, 1972, abstract printed in 118 *Cong. Rec.* S2699 (daily ed., February 28, 1972).

[12] Astin, Helen. "Career Profiles of Women Doctorates," from Rossi and Calderwood, ed. *Academic Women on the Move,* to be published by Russell Sage Foundation, p. 7-32.

[13] Astin, *Ibid.*, p. 7-33.

[14] Astin, Helen, *The Woman Doctorate in America, op. cit.*, p. 58.

[15] The reader is reminded that minority women are also protected from discrimination on the basis of their race by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

# Women and American Higher Education

By PAMELA ROBY [*]

ABSTRACT: This article traces the history of the development of higher educational opportunities for women in the United States. The first part shows that the development of higher education for women has been closely related to the economy's need for female workers with particular skills and to the financial needs of colleges and universities. Secondly, it documents that neither the difference between the educational resources offered to men and women, nor the gap between the income going to men and women with the same level of educational attainment, has been significantly reduced. The second half of the article illustrates how institutions of higher education have generally been characterized by the competitive, egotistical, and entrepreneurial culture to which men have been socialized. It then portrays an alternative culture, a culture of cooperation, community, and creativity. The history of women's higher education sketched in this paper suggests that neither educational equality for women nor a cooperative hybrid model of social relations is likely to be realized within the present economic structure. Persons who want academia or any other sphere of life to be characterized by cooperative, egalitarian social relations need to actively concern themselves with questions regarding the nature of the economy and its influence on every aspect of human life and social relations within our society.

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EQUALITY of opportunity is the most frequent ideological justification given for inequality of conditions in capitalist societies. In America, the assertion that equal opportunity exists for all is generally defended on the grounds that education is open to all. When educational inequalities are recognized, it is assumed that they are being rapidly eliminated by the plethora of American demonstration projects, legislative actions, administrative guidelines, and court rulings aimed at assuring equal educational opportunity.

The history of higher education for women in the United States does not support these comfortable assumptions.[1] Rather, the available historical evidence suggests that:

1. inequality between the educational resources offered to men and women has not been significantly reduced and may have grown over the last century;
2. the relatively small number of higher-level degrees granted to women over the last hundred years, although earned through completion of the same examinations and other institutional requirements as those earned by men, have had less economic value in terms of income and other occupational benefits than degrees granted to men; furthermore, over the last two decades, as an increasing proportion of bachelor's degrees have been granted to women, the gap between the economic rewards to men and women who have completed the degree and have entered the labor force has grown;
3. the initial admittance of women to degree granting course work and the acceptance of increased numbers of women in institutions of higher education have been closely related to the economy's need for women workers with particular skills and to institutions' financial need for students; when these economic needs have declined, women have quickly been discouraged in more or less subtle ways from enrolling in and/or fulfilling degree requirements of institutions of higher education;
4. institutions of higher education which have enrolled and granted degrees to women have not and do not function in a pluralistic manner, but rather, with few exceptions, force women students and faculty members to either adopt a competitive, egocentric, entrepreneurial, and stereotypically masculine culture and its norms which mesh with needs of the larger economy, or to leave the institutions;
5. the categorization and subsequent separation of women, blacks, and other minority groups and the less educated from men, elite whites, and the more educated buttresses the economy's unequal distribution of income and other rewards by providing an objective—al-

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[1] Elsewhere I have questioned whether education is an effective means of redistributing resources in the United States and have examined structural and internalized barriers to women in higher education. Compare S. M. Miller and Pamela Roby, "Education and Redistribution: The Limits of a Strategy," *Integrated Education* 6, no. 5 (September 1968); S. M. Miller and Pamela Roby, *The Future of Inequality* (New York: Basic Books, 1970); Pamela Roby, "Women in Higher Education: Structural and Internalized Obstacles," in Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, ed., *Toward a Sociology of Women* (Lexington, Mass.: Ginn-Blaisdell, 1972); and Pamela Roby, "Institutional Barriers to Women Students in Higher Education," in Alice Rossi and Anne Calderwood, eds., *Academic Women on the Move* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, forthcoming). Also see Bowles's and Greer's analyses of how American public education has failed to reduce inequality and to promote immigrants in American society. Samuel Bowles, "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Hierarchical Division of Labor," in Richard C. Edwards, Michael Reich, and Thomas E. Weisskopf, eds., *The Capitalist System* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972); Colin Greer, *The Great School Legend: A Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

though many would argue illogical—basis for the distribution of resources[2] and by tending to bar groups receiving fewer benefits and opportunities from communication with those receiving more, so that the less well-off are unlikely to have evidence to show or to even know that they are receiving an unequal share;[3]

6. because the inequitable educational and occupational treatment of women buttresses the economy's unequal distribution of resources in the manner described above, this inequitable treatment is unlikely to be rectified before general economic inequalities are eliminated or greatly reduced.

Given the limitations of space, support for these assertions which suggest an interrelationship between our economic and educational systems can be sketched only impressionistically. Furthermore, the assertions are confined to the U.S. economy and educational system. The educational systems of other capitalist nations vary greatly, and both the educational and economic systems of many so-called socialist nations have characteristics similar to our own. In addition, to say that education and the economy are interrelated is not to say that the nature of our educational system is unrelated to political, religious, or familial institutions. Nor do I wish to imply that women's own pressure to change educational institutions has been totally ignored, but rather that, as described below, it has been most often responded to when it has met needs of the economy or institutions of higher education. Still, some may reject the suggestion that a relationship exists between the economy and women's education as economic determinism. Such a rejection would be fairly simple at this stage in our study since, on the one hand, over the last several decades, both social scientists and educators have treated education narrowly, devoting little time to studying the interconnections between education and the economy or any other institution, and since, on the other hand, the actual relationship between economic and educational structures is most likely much subtler and more complex than simple theories of economic determinism would suggest.[4]

## WOMEN'S HIGHER EDUCATION: THE LAST TWO HUNDRED YEARS

Two hundred years ago, during the Revolutionary War, Judith Murray, the daughter of a prosperous Massachusetts merchant and sea captain, wrote:

> Is it upon mature consideration we adopt the idea that nature is partial in her distributions? Is it indeed a fact that she hath yielded to one half the human species so unquestionable a mental superiority? May we not trace the source [of this judgment that men are intellectually superior to women] in the difference of education and continued advantages? . . . [Is]

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[2] Compare Pamela Roby, "Inequality: A Trend Analysis," THE ANNALS 385 (September 1969), pp. 110–17.

[3] Compare John Kenneth Galbraith, Edwin Kuh, and Lester C. Thurow, "The Galbraith Plan to Promote Minorities," *New York Times Magazine*, August 22, 1971.

[4] The interconnections between the economy and the government have been shown by Kolko and others to be both very real and very complex. The relationship between the economy and education one would assume is no less complex. Gabriel Kolko, *Triumph of Conservatism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963). Compare Martin J. Sklar, "Woodrow Wilson and the Political Economy of Modern United States Liberalism," in James Weinstein and David W. Eakins, eds., *For a New America: Essays in History and Politics* (New York: Random House, 1970); Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Random House, 1971); Anthony M. Platt, *The Child Savers, The Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

> it reasonable, that a candidate for immortality, for the joys of heaven, an intelligent being, . . . should at present be so degraded, as to be allowed no other ideas, than those which are suggested by the mechanism of a pudding, or the sewing of the seams of a garment?[5]

During colonial times and decades to follow, women, as Murray protested in the quote above, were considered intellectually inferior to men. Colleges established in the colonies prior to the Revolutionary War—Harvard (1636), William and Mary (1693), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746), Pennsylvania (1749), and Columbia (1754)—were limited to gentlemen, the sons of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite property holders, many of whom had been educated at Cambridge or Oxford. The colonies' college graduates often played active roles in colonial governments. Over half of Harvard's early graduates became ministers; others entered law and teaching, then a man's profession.

The sons and daughters of most colonial families did not need an institutionalized education to carry out their adult roles. Boys learned farming by helping their fathers farm. Girls learned from their mothers the skills of caring for a home; spinning; weaving; making lace, quilts, clothes, shoes, and candles; planting and tending crops; and caring for children and the sick. Daughters of the well-to-do learned from their mothers how to supervise servants and embroider, and from both parents how to read the Bible and occasionally how to write. Having, in most colonies, no right to property, no right to vote, no legal entity, women needed no formal education.[6]

### *Water power, women's seminaries, and normal schools*

Despite the vociferous voices of several male and female advocates of female education, seminaries for women were opened for only the well-to-do few during the fifty years following America's Declaration of Independence. Then the economy underwent a significant change. A surge in industrial production outside the home was made possible by the harnessing of water power to spin cotton. In 1814 the first power-driven loom was set up in Waltham, Massachusetts, and operated by Deborah Skinner.[7] Since most men were fully employed when the looms were invented, hundreds of women were encouraged to and did join Skinner as wage earners working fourteen-hour days in the young textile industry—in 1831, 80 percent of the workers in Massachusetts textile mills were women.

Women were also increasingly sought as teachers for the burgeoning common schools, which radical working men saw as a means to guarantee social and economic equality[8] and employers viewed as a means to achieve a disciplined, loyal labor force.[9] Hiring women was a logical way to meet the need for teachers not only because they had become accustomed to teaching their own and often neighbors' young children and because men were not available for the jobs but because taxpayers wanted to pay the cheapest possible wages. Female teachers earned one-fourth to one-half the salary paid to men.[10] By 1850, two million school age children required two hundred thousand teachers, nearly 90 percent of whom were women.[11] Thus a pattern was begun which was to long characterize American labor force practices: women were hired to fill a new job when men were not available, and the job soon became too low-paying even for men who needed work to be able to take it.

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[5] Judith Murray's essay was not published until 1790, and then under her pen name, Constantia. Constantia, "The Equality of the Sexes," *Massachusetts Magazine* (March 1790), pp. 132–33, quoted in Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 16.

[6] Compare Leo Kanowitz, *Women and the Law: The Unfinished Revolution* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), pp. 40–41.

[7] Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, p. 17.

[8] Compare Murray Milner, Jr., *The Illusion of Equality: The Effect of Education on Opportunity, Inequality and Social Conflict* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972), p. 25; and R. Welter, *Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

[9] For example, in 1841, H. Bartlett, a Lowell manufacturer who supervised four hundred to nine hundred persons yearly, wrote, "I have never considered mere knowledge . . . as the only advantage derived from a good Common School education . . . in times of agitation, on account of some change

Once thousands of women were hired as operatives and teachers, "women's place" could no longer be said to be confined solely to the home, and their need for formal education to equip them for their new duties was harder to deny. However, teaching, like factory work, was seen as a prelude to marriage rather than a life-long career for women. After marriage, the economy most needed women to perform myriad tasks within the nuclear family. Each day they "produced and groomed" the next generation of workers, a task covering most of their married lives.[12] Each evening they physically revived the nation's "productive" workers so that the following morning they could return to their jobs ready for a good day's work. As wives, they also soothed husbands' feelings brutalized by the increasingly alienated and regulated situation in which they had to labor each day– a task which, as Jessie Bernard has pointed out, supported and supports the status quo of industrial society by draining off energy and hatred which might otherwise be turned against the society as revolutionary anger.[13]

Some two-year women's seminaries were created specifically in response to the need for teachers: others, founded earlier, were begun in response to wealthy fathers' desires that their daughters reflect well on themselves and have the grace and social talents required to attract proper husbands. In both cases, the seminaries' teacher education programs reflected the belief that women would teach only a few years and then turn to their second, primary economic role of wife and mother. For example, the founders of Troy Female Seminary, established in 1825 and said by some to mark the beginning of higher education for women in the United States, viewed the "first object and mission" of the seminary as "teaching the broad sphere of women's duties and accomplishments"; training teachers was a secondary purpose.[14]

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in regulations or wages, I have always looked to the most intelligent, best educated and most moral for support. . . . [They are] more orderly and respectful in their deportment, and more ready to comply with the wholesome and necessary regulations of the establishment." H. Bartlett quoted in Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 88.

[10] Compare Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (1966; reprint ed., New York: Octagon Books, 1929), vol. 1, pp. 460–70, 483–505.

[11] Ibid., p. 236.

[12] Joan Mandle, "Women's Liberation: Humanizing Rather than Polarizing," THE ANNALS 397 (September 1971), p. 125. Compare Elizabeth F. Baker, *Technology and Woman's Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History* (1910; reprint ed., New York: Arno, 1969); and Marilyn Power Goldberg, "The Economic Exploitation of Women," in Richard Edwards, Michael Reich, and Thomas Weisskopf, eds., *The Capitalist System* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

[13] Jessie Bernard, *Women and the Public Interest* (New York: Aldine, 1971), p. 89.

[14] Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 1, pp. 344–46; vol. 2, pp. 192–93.

In the late 1820s and during the 1830s, state commissions in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts argued that the seminaries were not providing enough teachers and that a distinct institution was needed to qualify persons for this purpose. In 1839 the first state-supported normal training school was established in Lexington, Massachusetts. It was exclusively for women, but others, opened over the following decade in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Michigan, Maine, and New York, were for both sexes. Although far beneath the standards of Harvard, Yale, and other men's colleges, their course of study was rigorous, including composition; geometry; algebra; physiology; natural, intellectual, and moral philosophy; natural history; botany; political economy; bookkeeping; vocal music; and the art of teaching.[15]

### *The Civil War and women's admission to bachelor's degree programs*

At only ten institutions could women, like men, obtain a full four-year course leading to an A.B. degree prior to 1861 and the Civil War. In 1837, two hundred and one years after Harvard opened its doors to men, four women requested and were granted admission to Oberlin's regular college course. Hillsdale (in Michigan) and Antioch (in Ohio) admitted women when they opened in 1844 and 1853; and in 1855, four women along with eighty-five men entered the University of Iowa's collegiate department, giving that university the longest continuous record of coeducation—a few women enrolled in the University of Deseret, now the University of Utah, in 1851, but the following year its instruction was suspended for over a decade owing to lack of funds. In addition to the four coeducational institutions, six women's colleges—Oxford Female (Ohio), Illinois Conference Female, Ingham (New York), Mary Sharp (Tennessee), Elmira, and Vassar—offered women a chance to work toward bachelor's degrees.[16]

Despite political pressures and promises, other institutions of higher education refused to allow women to work toward A.B. degrees until financial pressures generated by the Civil War and declining male enrollments led them to do so during or immediately following the war. At the University of Wisconsin, for example, coeducation was debated during the fifties and a Regents' report declared:

> The entire success which has attended the common education of the sexes in the normal school and higher academies of the eastern states goes far toward settling the question [of coeducation] for the university. There is not wanting collegiate experience of some authority in the same direction . . . [and] the board deem it right to prepare to meet the wishes of those parents who desire university culture for their daughters by extending to all such the privileges of the institution. . . .[17]

But not until 1860 were women admitted to the University's normal school. By 1863, the war had so increased the attendance of women that their numbers actually exceeded those of men. In 1866, the University was reorganized so that all departments were officially open to men and women equally, a policy which the State Superintendent thoroughly approved since the "expense of carrying on the institution [would] be greatly lessened, if both sexes were generally to recite together."[18] By 1870, six other state universities—Kansas, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Michigan, and California in addition to Iowa and Wisconsin—were open to women.[19]

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[15] Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 1, pp. 473-80.

[16] Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1959), pp. 10–12; Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 2, pp. 137-382.

[17] Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 2, p. 239.

Economy was the reason most often cited for coeducation's sudden success, according to Woody, the primary historian of women's higher education.[20] States needed to educate women so that they could teach in elementary and high schools, and the western states "were too poor to support two high grade educational institutions, one for men and one for women."[21] In New England, on the other hand, "the need for" coeducation was "not urgent because the liberality of founders and benefactors . . . provided in at least five women's colleges . . . an excellent education."[22]

In other cases, not poverty and the need for teachers, but financial donations secured coeducation for women. Women were not admitted to Cornell until Henry W. Sage gave a building and an endowment of $250 thousand for them.[23] When the University of Michigan faculty objected to the extra expense of a "two sex college," Michigan women raised $100 thousand and their younger sisters were admitted.[24] The admission of women to Johns Hopkins University Medical School in 1893 was assured by funds collected by women all over the United States, a $350 thousand gift by Mary E. Garrett and a $10 thousand gift by Marian Hovey, originally offered to Harvard to provide medical instruction for women "on equal terms with men."[25] And suffragist Susan B. Anthony is said to have nearly ruined her health raising money for the University of Rochester so that women might be admitted.[26]

Although by the early 1870s women could obtain B.A. degrees in eight state universities and approximately forty private coeducational colleges, only about eight hundred of the three thousand bachelor's degrees awarded to women in 1870 were granted by these institutions. The remainder were attained in "female institutions."[27] Debate raged in these female colleges as well as in their co-ed sister institutions during the sixties and early seventies, concerning the type of education women should receive. On one side, many feminists and professors—probably not wishing to have their own status lowered by teaching subjects unlike those taught in men's colleges—argued that women's schools should imitate men's in every particular. Others, including Durant, founder of Wellesley, believed that women's education should be as thorough as men's but not the same. He stressed "the importance of developing powers of thought and reason," but wanted "instruction in religion and health," and "regarded one hour of domestic work a day as an integral part of the educational program"—not a concession to the college's economy but an important contribution to the economy of future families and the society.[28] Smith—opened in 1875—was the first women's college to provide a program of study almost identical with that of the prestigious male institutions.[29] Soon other women's colleges followed suit; and Bryn Mawr, opened in 1880, provided the unique feature for a women's college of a graduate school.

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[18] Ibid., p. 242.

[19] Newcomer, *Century of Higher Education*, p. 14.

[20] Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 2, pp. 256–59.

[21] Charles T. Van Hise, "Educational Tendencies in State Universities," *Educational Review* 34 (December 1907), p. 509.

[22] James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1889), vol. 2, p. 605.

[23] Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 2, p. 248.

[24] Ibid., p. 259.

[25] Ibid., p. 358.

[26] Ibid., p. 259.

[27] Newcomer, *Century of Higher Education*, p. 19.

[28] Ibid., p. 56.

### *The return to the hearth: Glamorized domesticity*

By the turn of the century women had proven they could perform academically as well as men without, as some had previously believed, being physically harmed or made infertile in the process. But no sooner had women proven their academic ability than old questions concerning whether women *should* cultivate their minds were raised with new forcefulness. The primary charge lodged against women's education was that it lowered the birth rate. Each new report that showed ever lower marriage and childbearing rates among Wellesley, Smith, and Vassar graduates renewed the panic of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite who feared being overcome by the influx of Italian, Irish, and Jewish immigrants and therefore accepted as principle that well-to-do women should have as many children as possible.[30]

College-educated women also reacted against female education. Their attitudes developed out of their own plight as humans unfit for any social or economic role. Rigorous collegiate course work generally left them dissatisfied as homemakers, and unable to qualify as elementary or secondary school teachers,[31] still nearly the only profession open to women. William O'Neill has described their dilemma, "Suddenly they found themselves not merely alone, but alone in a society that had no use for them. Their liberal education did not prepare them to do anything in particular, and the stylized, carefully edited view of life it gave them bore little relation to the actual world."[32] Although many college graduates were frustrated by a sense that they should use their education in some way that society had not yet defined, most, as Adele Simmons has pointed out, were neither "ready to challenge the view that women's first goal in life was to marry and have children and that such a role excluded other possibilities," nor adventurous enough to embark on political action which was viewed as "inconsistent with the behavior expected of a college girl."[33] Even history's exceptional women were, for periods of their lives, anguished by feeling overcultured, out of place, and useless. Jane Addams, who did not discover poverty until several years after receiving her B.A. from Rockford College (1881),[34] recalled:

> I gradually reached a conviction that the first generation of college women had taken their learning too quickly, had departed too

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[29] Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 2, p. 182.

[30] One report showed that from twenty-seven to thirty-six years after graduation, only slightly more than 55 percent of Vassar's early alumnae were married, and among this group the average number of children born was slightly more than two per married member. Of the next ten Vassar classes (1877-86), less than 51 percent were married from seventeen to twenty-six years after graduation; and the average number of children per married alumna was down to 1.5. Willystine Goodsell, *The Education of Women* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1923), p. 36. Compare Robert J. Sprague, "Education and Race Suicide," *Journal of Heredity* 6 (April 1915), p. 180.

[31] Newcomer, *Century of Higher Education*, p. 89.

[32] William O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1969), p. 79.

[33] Adele Simmons, "Education for What? The Response of Educational Structures to the Changing Roles of Women" (Paper presented at the Eastern Sociological Society Meeting, Boston, Mass., April 22, 1971) (Princeton University, Department of History, stencil), pp. 14–15.

[34] Christopher Lasch, *The Social Thought of Jane Addams* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1965), p. 1.

suddenly from the active, emotional life led by their grandmothers and great-grandmothers; that the contemporary education of young women had developed too exclusively the power of acquiring knowledge and of merely receiving impressions; that somewhere in the process of "being educated" they had lost that simple and almost automatic response to the human appeal. . . . that they are so sheltered and pampered they have no chance even to make "the great refusal."[35]

While many questioned the advantages of higher education for women, faculty, administrators, and male students within coeducational institutions generally contented themselves with ridding their own hallowed halls of the second sex rather than opposing female education per se. Informally the men charged that the presence and superior scholarship of women in some subjects forced male students into unfair competition. One opponent of coeducation wrote, "Girls are better students than boys, surpassing them in the power of application and the will to learn. They read more, write more and have a wider range of ideas. . . ."[36] Others feared the feminization of campus culture. A Cornell professor is reported to have argued for separation of the sexes, saying:

> It [separation of the sexes] is to be effected in a gentlemanly way, but effected it must be. The situation is due, perhaps, to the fact that the girls have a civilization and interests of their own and do not share in those of the boys. Their sports, views, and habits differ so that they have little in common. Enforced association under the circumstances is irksome. It is promised in regard to coeducation that it will 'refine' the boys, but college boys want their fling and don't wish to be refined. They prefer congenial savagery.[37]

The four reasons, according to Woody, most often officially given for separating the sexes were: (1) women's rapid increase at the universities concerned; (2) their election of certain liberal arts courses to such an extent as to drive men from courses; (3) the objection of men students to the attendance of women; and (4) the need for a "peculiar education for woman that should have regard for her nature and vocation."[38] Underlying the first three of these reasons lay university officials' fear that women would drive male students away from their campuses and thereby decrease total enrollments and endowments. The fourth reason was both political and economic in nature. Many believed that women working outside the home interfered with their own personal interests; and the economy, in a period of peace, did not need large numbers of women in the labor force and could benefit from their assuming roles as homemakers and consumers. For all these reasons, in rapid succession Stanford, the University of Chicago—offered an endowment provided that women should be segregated—Wisconsin, Tufts, and Western Reserve moved women into separate classes or colleges, and Wesleyan completely closed its doors to women, not reopening them until 1970 when it found the number of its applicants declining owing to boys' preference for co-ed schools![39]

### *Clerical work and college women*

Whether or not student and faculty men reversed their attitudes concerning co-eds, between 1910 and 1930, the First World War and the increasing complexity of industrial production,[40] distribution, and sales promotion created a spiraling need for educated female white-collar workers; and university policies became more cordial toward women—see Table 1. Between 1910 and 1920 the percentage of women workers employed in white-collar jobs spurted 12.7 percent--from 26.1 to 38.8 percent—and the percentage of bachelor's degrees awarded to women jumped 11.5 percent—from 22.7 to 34.2 percent. During the next ten years, both the percentage of women workers employed in white-collar jobs and the portion of bachelor's degrees awarded to women increased by roughly half as much as during the 1910–20 decade—the former by 4.5 percent and the latter by 5.7 percent.

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[35] Jane Addams, *Twenty Years At Hull House. With Autobiographical Notes* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), pp. 71, 73.

[36] Quoted in Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 2, p. 282.

[37] Quoted by Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 2, p. 248, from *The School Journal*, vol. 74, p. 550.

[38] Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 2, p. 282.

[39] Woody, *History of Women's Education*, vol. 2, pp. 272–95; 304–20; Simmons, "Education for What?" pp. 12–13.

Clerical work accounted for most of the increased demand for female white-collar employees between 1910 and the Depression, and continued to do so through the sixties. Between the turn of the century and 1970, the proportion of female workers in clerical jobs increased from 4 to 34 percent. The growth in clerical jobs was vastly greater for women than that in any other occupational area. At the turn of the century, twice as many women were employed in professional jobs as in clerical jobs; but by 1970 well over twice as many women were employed in clerical as compared to professional positions—the proportion of female workers in professional and technical occupations grew slowly from 8 to 14 percent over the seventy years.

Similarly, the increase in the percentage of bachelor's degrees awarded to women was much greater over the seventy-year period than that in the percentage of doctor's degrees awarded to the "second sex"—the proportion of bachelor's degrees awarded to women rose from 19 to 43 percent, while the proportion of doctor's degrees awarded to them increased from 6 to 13 percent. Although the proportion of women workers employed in white-collar positions increased steadily over the seven decades, the percentage of bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees awarded to women rose sporadically with great leaps and precipitous declines—see Figure 1. Seemingly, educational institutions' policies toward women reflected not only labor force needs for women, but institutional ones as well.

During the Depression and again during the Second World War, institutions of higher education experienced declining enrollments. At these times many men's colleges, which had long had local women who could not afford to leave home to attend college knocking on their doors, became coeducational; and coeducational institutions began to admit women to, and encourage them to take, previously male courses of study.[41] By the fall of 1942, in response to World War II, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute admitted women, upsetting a 116-year tradition; Pennsylvania State College included "women for the first time among prospective war-industry workers" in the Department of Industrial Engineering; and New York University reported a "larger percentage of women among the undergraduate and graduate enrollees" than had before been the case and that they were "being trained to replace men in virtually all clerical, professional and technical fields."[42] The University of Wisconsin

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40. Compare Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years: The History of the American Worker 1920–1933* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1960), pp. 55–56.

41. Newcomer, *Century of Higher Education*, p. 38.

42. Editor, "Adjustments in Educational Programs for the Training of Women," *School and Society*, October 10, 1942, pp.

TABLE 1. MAJOR OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SEX
1900 TO 1970

| MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP | 1970 | 1960 | 1950 | 1940 | 1930 | 1920 | 1910 | 1900 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | BOTH SEXES | | | | |
| Total number[a] | 78,626 | 66,681 | 58,999 | 51,742 | 48,686 | 42,206 | 37,291 | 29,030 |
| *Percent of total* | | | | | | | | |
| White-collar workers | 48.3% | 43.1% | 36.6% | 31.1% | 29.4% | 24.9% | 21.3% | 17.6% |
| Professional and technical workers | 14.2 | 11.2 | 8.6 | 7.5 | 6.8 | 5.4 | 4.7 | 4.2 |
| Managers, officials, and proprietors | 10.5 | 10.6 | 8.7 | 7.3 | 7.4 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 5.8 |
| Clerical workers | 17.4 | 14.7 | 12.3 | 9.6 | 8.9 | 8.0 | 5.3 | 3.0 |
| Salesworkers | 6.2 | 6.6 | 6.9 | 6.7 | 6.3 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 4.5 |
| Blue-collar workers | 35.3 | 36.3 | 41.1 | 39.8 | 39.6 | 40.2 | 38.2 | 35.8 |
| Craftsmen and foremen | 12.9 | 12.8 | 14.1 | 12.0 | 12.8 | 13.0 | 11.6 | 10.5 |
| Operatives | 17.7 | 18.0 | 20.4 | 18.4 | 15.8 | 15.6 | 14.6 | 12.8 |
| Nonfarm laborers | 4.7 | 5.5 | 6.6 | 9.4 | 10.9 | 11.6 | 12.0 | 12.5 |
| Service workers | 12.4 | 12.5 | 10.5 | 11.7 | 9.8 | 7.8 | 9.5 | 9.0 |
| Farmworkers | 4.0 | 8.1 | 11.8 | 17.4 | 21.2 | 27.0 | 30.9 | 37.5 |
| | | | | FEMALE | | | | |
| Total number[a] | 29,667 | 22,196 | 16,445 | 12,574 | 10,752 | 8,637 | 7,445 | 5,319 |
| *Percent of total* | | | | | | | | |
| White-collar workers | 60.5% | 54.6% | 52.4% | 44.9% | 44.2% | 38.8% | 26.1% | 17.8% |
| Professional and technical workers | 14.5 | 12.2 | 12.2 | 12.8 | 13.8 | 11.7 | 9.8 | 8.2 |
| Managers, officials, and proprietors | 4.5 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 3.3 | 2.7 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 1.5 |
| Clerical workers | 34.5 | 30.0 | 27.8 | 21.5 | 20.9 | 18.7 | 9.2 | 4.0 |
| Salesworkers | 7.0 | 7.6 | 8.6 | 7.4 | 6.8 | 6.3 | 5.1 | 4.3 |
| Blue-collar workers | 16.1 | 16.4 | 22.4 | 21.6 | 19.8 | 23.7 | 25.7 | 27.7 |
| Craftsmen and foremen | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.4 |
| Operatives | 14.5 | 15.0 | 20.0 | 19.5 | 17.4 | 20.2 | 22.9 | 23.8 |
| Nonfarm laborers | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 2.3 | 1.4 | 2.6 |
| Service workers | 21.7 | 24.7 | 21.5 | 29.4 | 27.5 | 23.9 | 32.4 | 35.5 |
| Farmworkers | 1.8 | 4.5 | 3.7 | 4.0 | 8.4 | 13.5 | 15.8 | 19.0 |

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 74; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1971* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. GPO, 1972), p. 222.

[a] In thousands.

also admitted greater numbers of women than ever before in its history; and, as during the Civil War but never in peace time, more women than men were enrolled in the University's undergraduate schools and colleges.[43]

### *The reaction against women's higher education*

With the war's end and soldiers' return, journalists, economists, and educators, fearing a glutted labor market, admonished women to leave their wartime jobs, and glamorized domesticity

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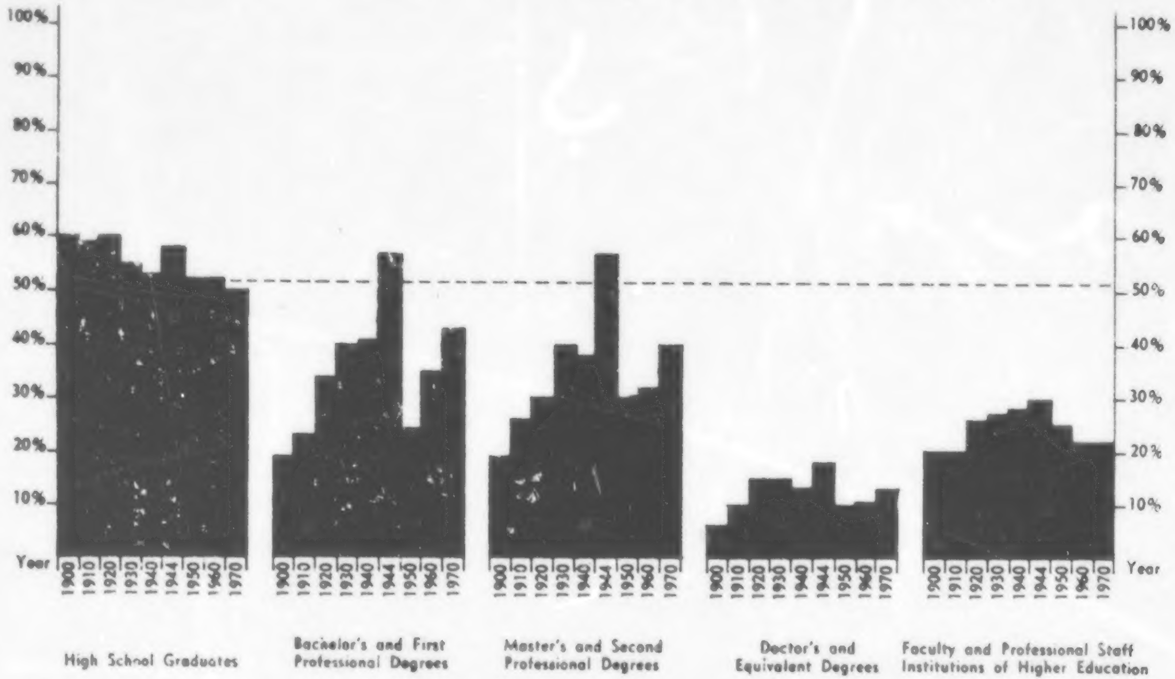
320–21; compare Ruth Strang, "Women's Education and Defense," *Educational Forum* 5 (May 1941).

[43] E. B. Fred, "Women and Higher Education: With Special Reference to the University of Wisconsin," *The Journal of Experimental Education* 31, no. 2 (December 1962), p. 162

FIGURE 1—PERCENT OF HIGH SCHOOL, BACHELOR'S, MASTER'S, AND DOCTOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED TO WOMEN, AND PERCENT OF FACULTY AND PROFESSIONAL STAFF IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION WHO WERE WOMEN FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1900–1970



SOURCE: Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, *Trends in Educational Attainment of Women* (Washington, D.C., 1967), pp. 12–15; U.S. Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education in the U.S. 1954–6* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1958), p. 31; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C. U.S. GPO, 1960), p. 211; American Council on Education, *A Fact Book on Higher Education*, Issue 3, (1970), pp. 70.125–70.133.

and full-time motherhood as they never had before. By the 1950s, the age at which women married had dropped, and dreams of careers were replaced by dreams of babies. Husbands' new roles as managers, salesmen, and lawyers required much entertaining and seemingly a full-time "helpmate." Women's magazines, which during war years had dwelt heavily on means by which women might most quickly and efficiently prepare meals and care for their homes as well as on the advantages of child care centers, now encouraged women to become gourmet cooks, responsive to all the needs of their children, and expert consumers. The latter role, of course, helped prevent a much-feared postwar economic recession, as well as tied husbands ever tighter to what were often restrictive, repressive, exploitative jobs.

The percentage of university acceptances and bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees going to women, which had peaked during the war, plunged to levels well below those in 1930. Women students declined from 50 to 30 percent of the resident college enrollment between 1944 and 1950.[44] Educators who still had women in their classes were told that they

> must help women understand that the homemaker's maternal role calls for knowledge and expertness as does any other occupational role. . . . Besides preparing women for this role, educators should attempt to elevate this role to the same esteem, if not glamor, that any male occupational role enjoys.[45]

With women marrying and becoming absorbed in child rearing at decidedly younger ages, employers happily faced in the fifties with economic expansion, had to seek older women whose children were grown to fill their need for clerical workers, teachers, and other traditionally female jobs. In 1955, for the first time on record, women aged forty-five to sixty-four had a higher labor force participation rate than those twenty-five to forty-four years of age—see Figure 2.

### *Economic expansion: Women urged back to school and work*

The expansion continued into the sixties. Schools and colleges were flooded with baby-boom children. Clerical and sales jobs were also expanding. Then the War on Poverty, launched in 1964, created more—traditionally low-paying—jobs fitting women's skills: recreation leaders, social workers, nurses, teachers, and clerical workers were in short supply. With the Vietnam buildup, the official overall unemployment rate dropped below 4 percent in 1966 and remained there until 1970—by 1971 the overall unemployment rate was up to 5.9 percent.[46] Higher percentages of women of every age joined the labor force than ever before in history—female labor force participation rates rose well above those of other war years: by 1970, exactly 50 percent of women aged nineteen to sixty-four were employed.

Warren Weaver, Vice President of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation in 1960 urged, ". . . as the pressure for able personnel increases, we simply must create new and appropriate opportuni-

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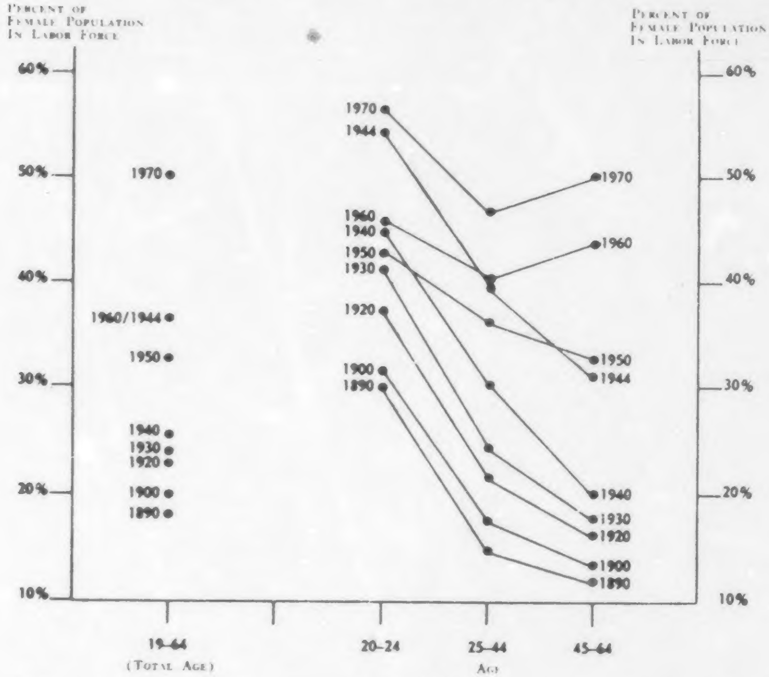
[44] W. W. Ludeman, "Declining Female College Attendance: Causes and Implications," *Educational Forum* 25 (May 1961), p. 505.

[45] Aaron Lipman, "Educational Preparation for the Female Role," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 32 (September 1958), p. 43.

[46] Generally a higher percentage of women than men have been looking for work. When the overall unemployment rate dropped to beneath 4 percent, the female unemployment rate fell to just under 5 percent; by 1971 the female rate was up to 6.9 percent, as compared with the 5.9 percent overall rate of unemployment. U.S. Department of Labor, *Employment and Earnings—July 1972* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1972), pp. 21-22.

FIGURE 2—Labor Force Participation Rates of U.S. Women by Age, 1890–1970



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1960), p. 7; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Continuation Statistics to 1962* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1965); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1971* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1972), p. 213.

ties for women."[47] The percentage of bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees awarded to women began to increase, although the percentage of B.A. and M.A. degrees granted to women never climbed near to that of 1944; and the percentage of doctorates awarded to women, like the percentage of college and university faculty comprised by women, did not come near to the level of the 1920s and 1930s—see Figure 1. In recognition of the need to train or retrain women past their child-rearing years, special programs for continuing education for women were also founded.[48]

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[47] Warren Weaver, "A Great Age for Science," *The American Assembly* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 116, quoted in Fred, "Women and Higher Education," p. 160.

[48] These included the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study, the University of Minnesota Plan for the Continuing Education of Women; the Ford Foundation Program for the Re-Training in Mathematics of College Graduate Women, Rutgers University; the Sarah Lawrence Center for Continuing Education for Women; the Michigan State University Program for Women; the Barnard College Plan for Special Students; and the

TABLE 2 INCOME BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND SEX FOR WAGE EARNERS TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OLD AND OVER, UNITED STATES, 1950, 1960, 1970

| | MEDIAN INCOME | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1950 | | | 1960 | | | 1970 | | |
| | Men | Women | Women as % of Men | Men | Women | Women as % of Men | Men | Women | Women as % of Men |
| Years of school completed | | | | | | | | | |
| High school, 4 | $3,285 | $1,584 | *48.2%* | $5,441 | $2,184 | *40.1%* | $8,772 | $3,400 | *38.7%* |
| College, 1-3 | 3,522 | 1,660 | *47.1* | 5,978 | 2,408 | *40.3* | 9,879 | 3,722 | *37.7* |
| College, 4 | 4,407 | 2,321 | *52.7* | 7,388 | 3,322 | *45.0* | 12,144 | 5,362 | *44.1* |
| College, 5 or more | | | | 7,971 | 4,664 | *58.5* | 13,426 | 7,889 | *58.7* |
| Total of all wage earners | *2,699* | 1,089 | *40.3* | 4,618 | 1,535 | *33.2* | 7,891 | 2,595 | *32.9* |
| | MEDIAN EDUCATION (YEARS OF SCHOOLING) | | | | | | | | |
| All wage earners | 9.0 | 9.6 | | 10.4 | 10.8 | | 12.2 | 12.2 | |

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population, 1950*, vol. 4, Special Report, pt. 5, chap. B, "Education" (Washington, D. C.: U. S. GPO, 1953), Table 12, pp. 108, 112, Table 13, p. 128; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports*, "Educational Attainment," Final Report PC(2)-5B (Washington, D. C.: U. S. GPO, 1963), Table 6, p. 88, Table 7, p. 112; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, no. 80, "Income in 1970 of Families and Persons in the United States" (Washington, D. C.: U. S. GPO, 1971), Table 49, pp. 102, 106. Statistics are available only for 1970 on income by educational attainment and sex for year-round full-time workers. In 1970, the mean income of year-round full-time female workers with five or more years of college was 55.3 percent of the income of the same category of male workers. The overall median income of full-time year-round female workers decreased from 63.9 percent of men's in 1955 to 60.8 percent in 1960 and 59.4 percent in 1970. Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, "Fact Sheet on the Earnings Gap," Washington, D. C., 1971, p. 1.

Women's increasing educational attainment did not lead, as one might expect, to decreased inequality between the incomes of women and men. In fact, quite the reverse occurred. The gap between the wages paid to full-time female and male workers increased.[49] This trend was not reversed, as one might again expect, when education was taken into account. The median income of female college graduates was 53 percent of that of men in 1950, 45 percent in 1960, and 44 percent in 1970—see Table 2.

Alice Rossi has maintained that it was the increased employment of post-child-rearing aged women and the discrimination that they experienced in the labor force that

> provided the momentum leading to the establishment of the Kennedy Commission on the Status of Women and the formation of new women's rights organizations in the mid-1960s. So long as women worked mostly before marriage or after marriage only until a first pregnancy, . . . there were but feeble grounds for a significant movement among women, since their motivation for working was short-lived. Only among women who are relatively permanent members of the work force

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American Association of University Women Graduate Program of Continuing Education for Women. Fred, "Women and Higher Education," p. 160.

[49] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, P-60 Series, annual issues.

could daily experience force an awareness of economic inequities based on sex and a determination to do something about them.[50]

Rossi predicted that this fortunate circumstance would change:

> . . . In the 1970's there will be a reversal in the demographic pattern. The birth rate is now on the decline, the age at marriage creeping upward, and the time interval between marriage and childbearing widening. In the 1970's there will be more young unmarried and childless married women seeking jobs, for they will be the baby-boom females grown to maturity. At the same time, graduate schools will be producing large numbers of young people with advanced degrees, who will face a very different job market from the one that young Ph.D.'s faced during the past twenty years.[51]

The impact of the demographic pattern described by Rossi was already felt in 1970, and then it was coupled with a shrinking economy and the government's slowing down the expansion of jobs in the public sector. On the front page of the *Wall Street Journal*, journalist Richard Martin bemoaned women's seeking jobs at a time of high unemployment:

> The "liberation" of more and more women into the work force is giving the nation's rising unemployment rate an unwelcome boost.
>
> With the economy slowing down and production declining, the number of available jobs has been shrinking steadily since the end of last year. But in the same period the size of the labor force has ballooned unexpectedly, and some economists blame the abnormal growth largely on a big jump in the proportion of women entering the work force. . . . The trend has been building for a long time, but the current influx of women couldn't be hitting the job market at a worse time, as far as many economists are concerned.[52]

Martin did concede that two overriding economic factors were responsible for the surge of females into the job market:

> The rising cost of living is forcing more wives to work just to help maintain the family's standard of living. And the rising unemployment rate is forcing more of them to find jobs because their husbands are either already out of work or likely to be laid off if the economy slows further.[53]

In 1971, the overall unemployment rate among women rose to 6.9 percent, and a U.S. Office of Management and Budget report estimated that there were 2.4 million women who wanted jobs but were not actively seeking work.[54] Bertram Gross estimated that actually as many as 7.5 million women were eager and able to work full- or part-time, but were unable to find a job.[55] Not only higher unemployment, but recommendations to cut spending in institutions of higher education were triggered by the economy's doldrums. In spring 1972, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, headed by Clark Kerr, urged colleges and universities to reduce their current spending rate by 20 percent or about $10 billion a year.[56]

It is too early to know exactly what statistical effect this latest economic recession has had on the enrollment of women students and their completion of higher education. Although the recession comes at a time when women's organizations are pressing hard for greater educational opportunities for women, if past trends in the relationship between the economy and education have any predictive value, the growth or decline of inequalities between higher educational opportunities available to women and men will very much depend upon which has greater influence on educational policies: the need of institutions of higher education, faced with declining applications, for more students; or the labor force's slackening need for women, including many categories of professional women.

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[50] Alice Rossi, "Women—Terms of Liberation," *Dissent* 17, no. 6 (November 1970), p. 534.

[51] Ibid., p. 536.

[52] Richard Martin, "Leaving the Home: More Women Seek Jobs, Contributing to Boost in Unemployment Rate," *Wall Street Journal*, June 29, 1970, p. 1.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Carol Mathews, "The Unemployed Women," *New York Post*, Financial Section, April 4, 1972, p. 67.

[55] Bertram Gross quoted by Mathews, ibid.

[56] Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *The More Effective Use of Resources: An Imperative for Higher Education* (15th Interim Report) (New York: The Carnegie Commission, 1972) quoted in the *New York Times*, June 16, 1972, p. 17.

## TODAY: WOMEN IN THE MALE WORLD OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Today women have begun to question seriously the belief that equal opportunity for women will be achieved through equal education. They have begun to challenge this long-held maxim first because over the last fifty years they have seen that equal education does not assure equal opportunity. Women with degrees equivalent to those of men have been and are generally unable to obtain equivalent jobs, and the gap between the salaries of men and women with equivalent levels of education has widened. Secondly, women have come to realize that although they have made gains in absolute terms in higher education, in relative terms, they have lost ground. In the 1920s and 1930s, over 15 percent of the nation's doctorates were awarded to women; in 1970, only 13 percent went to the second sex; the proportion of college and university faculty positions going to women similarly declined. Finally, and of growing importance in the minds of many women, institutions of higher education, although accepting women as students and to a considerably lesser extent as faculty members, seldom function in either a pluralistic or a hybrid manner. Instead, female students and faculty are forced to choose between leaving the institutions or adopting their competitive, egocentric, entrepreneurial and stereotypically masculine culture, a culture which meshes well with the needs of the larger economy, but stands in marked opposition to the values and styles of life of many, perhaps most, academic women as well as to those of a sizable fraction of academic men.

Many within academe are unable even to define or articulately describe the female culture and values. The female values, standards, and culture have been before them, but their eyes have not seen. This, as Jessie Bernard has written, is sexism. Just as "racism was the kind of naive assumption that white standards, values, and arts were the best, if not the only, ones, sexism [is] the assumption that male standards, values, and arts [are] the best, if not the only worthwhile, ones. Like racism, sexism [is] the unconscious, taken-for-granted, unquestioned, unexamined, and unchallenged acceptance of the belief that the world as it look[s] to men [is] the only world, . . . that the values men [have] evolved [are] the only ones, that the way sex [looks] to men [is] the only way it could look to anyone, that what men [think] women [are] like [is] the only way to think about women." [57]

How do women perceive the male culture? Some have recorded their impressions. Anais Nin wrote in her diary:

> I go out to a party and meet the editors of *Partisan Review*. They sit there with unsmiling cold faces, uninviting, closed.

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[57] Bernard, *Women and the Public Interest*, p. 37. With the permission of Bernard this author has changed words in brackets from past to present tense.

> Their talk is harsh, ideological, political, dry, neither warm, nor human nor sensitive. They are tough intellectuals, without the slightest charm or wit or humor or tolerance. They are rigid. Clever in a cold way.[58]

On reading the Nin passage, Alice Rossi commented that it reminded her "of numerous scenes" she had "experienced in largely male university faculty clubs."[59]

Elsewhere, a Yale undergraduate student, "relieved that as a girl, she was outside the bounds of real intellectual competition," commented,

> I'm not competing with anyone here, but I feel that men here have a built-in power struggle. It doesn't manifest itself in the struggle for higher grades but even when they're sitting at a table, there's a competition for who can make the wittiest comment.[60]

Following faculty meetings, women have made comments similar to that of the Yale undergraduate. They are outside the male power struggle which compels each of their colleagues one by one to rephrase the description of the problem being discussed, to create his own analysis of the problem's development, to demand time to be heard and appraised by his colleagues, and thereby to stretch many meetings into seemingly endless contests.

The power struggle requires constant ego reinforcement. For this reason, Jessie Bernard writes:

> Academic personnel are notoriously sensitive to slights. . . . The slightest evidence that they are not valued as highly as a colleague . . . as expressed in office space, salary, privileges of one kind or another, or prerogatives, course allocation, or whatever, arouses great anxiety.[61]

The academic's hunger for ego reinforcement has effects which ripple into many areas of life. A typical male conventioneer's interaction with a female colleague at professional conferences has been described:

> Speaking at his special convention rate of 275 words per minute, he recounts his achievements of the past year. He describes, briefly, the seventeen major articles and six research notes and book reviews that he has completed. Taking a little longer for each of the following, he then goes on to explain the major thesis of the seven monographs that are almost ready to go to the publishers. . . . He then leans over, pledges his colleague to secrecy, and intimately describes the four definite and three "feeler" job offers that he has had to turn down during the year because of pressing commitments which prevent him from moving. . . .

Why does the male conventioneer seek out his female colleague for conversations such as the one described above? Had he had the above discussion with a male colleague there would have been a *quid-*

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[58] Gunther Stuhlmann, ed., *Diary of Anais Nin, 1939-1944* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1970), vol. 3, quoted in Alice Rossi, "Anais Nin—A Sampler," *Psychology Today* 6, no. 3 (August 1972), p. 46.

[59] Rossi, "Anais Nin," p. 46.

[60] Quoted in Pepper Schwartz and Janet Lever, "Women in the Male World of Higher Education," in Rossi and Calderwood, *Academic Women on the Move*.

[61] Jessie Bernard, *Academic Women* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964), p. 193. Men too have occasionally taken note of the competitive nature of academia. Professor Paul Lazarsfeld of Columbia University has stated, "Anyone familiar with the college scene knows that factionalism, backbiting, jealousy and maneuvering for advantage are frequent enough to be an accepted if not inevitable part of academic life." Commenting on Lazarsfeld's statement, George Williams wrote, "It is not an accident that as a professor becomes older and presumably wiser, he almost invariably withdraws more and more from official association with his colleagues, and becomes a lone wolf. He has learned not to trust his colleagues." George Williams, *Some of My Best Friends Are Professors: A Critical Commentary on Higher Education* (New York: Abelard Schuman, 1958), p. 69. Also see Logan Wilson's chapter on "Prestige and Competition," in *The Academic Man* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 157–75.

> *pro-quo.* After describing his accomplishments over the past year he would have to listen to and then reward a similar catharsis for his colleague. By that time, his own psychic gains would have been negated . . . But, in selecting a female colleague he can have his catharsis, the enjoyment of feminine companionship, and best of all no requirement or even expectation that he reward in kind a similar recitation of accomplishments from his colleague.[62]

### *From boyhood to academic manhood: Male socialization*

The insecurity and individual striving which is characteristic of many if not most academic men is not an innate characteristic. Rather, it derives from their socialization. As young children they were instructed "not to be sissies." As adults, they were daily rewarded or punished for playing or failing to play the game within a society characterized by great inequalities.

Some believe that the unequal and competitive nature of society which encourages these male characteristics is necessary for productivity, intellectual creativity, and ever-increasing national wealth. But its unproductive, wasteful, and destructive effects have begun to be recognized. Waste associated with consultantships and research grants, which are a measure of academics' status and worth in many universities, has recently come under increasing attack. In the June 1972 *Public Interest*, Congresswoman Edith Green portrayed the case of a typical "educational entrepreneur" in the "education-poverty-industrial complex" and stated that in studies made at her request:

> . . . Over and over again, we have found educators enriching themselves at public expense through sizable consulting fees, often for work of which there is no record at all. Over and over again, we have found educational organizations taking money for work not done, for studies not performed, for analyses not prepared, for results not produced. Over and over again, we have found educators using public funds for research projects that have turned out to be esoteric, irrelevant, and often not even research.[63]

Not only financial resources, but much talent is lost as a consequence of academe's competitive nature. George Williams has pointed out:

> The successful innovator in addition to being intellectually superior, must also be responsive to the reward system. . . . He must be aggressive and competitive. . . . He has to have some of the qualities of an exhibitionist, or at least be willing to shout, Look at me! All of these characteristics—this "sense of destiny"—are independent of sheer intellectual ability. No one knows how many times brilliant creative ideas have occurred to humble people unable or unwilling to proclaim them. No one knows how many were lost. . . .[64]

In addition to the loss of monetary resources and creative ideas, one can tell from the look even on faces of men who have achieved a measure of "success" that the current academic atmosphere also results in great human toll.

Are there alternatives to the present self-seeking "masculine" academic culture? What do feminists want?

Alice Rossi has described three alternate models for relations between ethnic groups, races, and sexes:

> The pluralist model . . . anticipates a society in which marked racial, religious and ethnic differences are retained and valued for their diversity, yielding a heterogeneous society in which it is hoped cultural strength is increased by the diverse strands making up the whole society.

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[62] Geraldine R. Mintz [pseudonym], "Some Observations on the Function of Women Sociologists at Sociology Conventions," *American Sociologist* 2, no. 3 (August 1967), p. 158.

[63] Edith Green, "The Educational Entrepreneur—a Portrait," *The Public Interest*, no. 28 (Summer 1972), p. 13.

[64] Williams, *My Best Friends*, pp. 173–74.

> The assimilation model . . . anticipates a society in which the minority groups are gradually absorbed into the mainstream of the society by losing their distinguishing characteristics, acquiring the language, occupational skills and life style of the majority, host culture. The hybrid model . . . anticipates a society in which there is change in both the ascendant group and the minority groups, a "melting pot" hybrid requiring changes not only in blacks and Jews and women, but white male Protestants as well. . . .
>
> Applied to the role of women, these models may be illustrated in a summary fashion as follows: the pluralist model says the woman's nurturance finds its best expression in maternity; the assimilation model says women must be motivated to seek professional careers in medicine similar to those pursued now by men; the hybrid model says rather, how can the structure of medicine be changed so that more women will be attracted to medical careers, and men physicians will be able to live more balanced, less work and status-dominated lives.[65]

Most feminists argue for the hybrid model for inter-group relations. Wilma Scott Heide, President of the National Organization for Women, has explained why:

> . . . the country will never move away from the military approach, from the adversary system of human relations so long as it or any other nation is led almost solely by that half of the population whose socialization, toys, games and value system sanction defeating others and ennoble violence as the final assertion of manhood, which that half holds to be synonymous with nationhood. . . .
>
> To date, we have taught men to be brave and women to care. Now we must enlarge our concepts of bravery and caring. Men must be brave enough to care sensitively and compassionately—and contrary to the current masculine mystique—about the quality and equality of our society. Women, on the other hand, must care enough about the quality of life to boldly assert their voices and intellects in every aspect of every social institution, despite the current feminine mystique.[66]

What would academic institutions be like if they were characterized by the hybrid model of sexual relations rather than primarily by the assimilation model as they generally are today? With the new model academics would live and work in cooperation and love, as women, once jealous of one another, are learning to do in the women's movement. Faculty would be known by the quality of their teaching, community service, scholarship, and colleagueship with faculty and students, rather than judged on the number of their publications, consultantships, professional affiliations, and research grants. In listening to one another, academics would try to grasp the ideas each had to offer and help develop them, rather than search only for clues as to how they might be rejected. Their relationships would not be without differences of opinion, but the differences would be honestly aired rather than hidden under layers of subterfuge.

In a cooperative setting, academics would trust one another with problems, both intellectual and personal, and grow through sharing them. They would support and help one another, freely exchanging, rather than guarding, information, ideas, and data. No longer having to guard their ideas, failures, and successes from other faculty, professors could more easily share them with students. Furthermore, with cooperation rather than competition characterizing relations among faculty, superfluous status distinctions between professors and students would disappear, for professors would not need the distinctions to reinforce their egos. Instead, students, knowing faculty as human beings, would admire their strengths and empathize with their weaknesses. Both would learn much personally as well as intellectually from one another, and their personal development would facilitate greater intellectual development.

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[65] Rossi notes that the "assimilation model has an implicit fallacy: no amount of entreaty will yield an equitable distribution of women and men in the top strata of business and professional occupations for the simple reason that the life men have led in these strata has been possible only because their own wives were leading traditional lives as homemakers, doing double parental and household duty. . . . This is why so many professional women complain privately that what they most need in life is a "wife!" Alice Rossi, "The Beginning of Ideology: Alternate Models of Sex Equality," *The Humanist* 29, no. 5 (September 1969), pp. 6–16.

[66] Wilma Scott Heide, "What's Wrong With Male-Dominated Society," *Impact of Science on Society* 21, no. 1 (1971), pp. 61–62.

In their teaching and studies, faculty and students would no longer glorify or devote time to analyzing wars, aggressive deeds, and other inhumane matters. Rather, they would concern themselves with the well-being of humans throughout the world and with such questions as, "How do we live with others?" How can we help one another realize our full potentials? How can we do this for persons we do not know? "How can we all be human?"[67]

Surely, academics would find, as movement women are finding, that an atmosphere of love is more conducive to creativity and growth than one of self-seeking and adverse relations. This vision of interpersonal relations is not out of our reach. It is congenial, as Alice Rossi has pointed out, to the values many young men and women subscribe to today: their "desire for a more meaningful sense of community; greater depth of personal relations across class, sex and racial lines; a stress on human fellowship and individual creativity rather than merely rationality and efficiency in our bureaucracies; heightened interest in the humanities and the social sciences from an articulated value base; a social responsibility commitment to medicine and law rather than a thirst for status and high income."[68] Given society's norms for men and women, achieving this model of social relations is likely to require greater change in the socialization and culture of men than in that of women. But men as well as women have been [illegible] by the present system and [illegible] by its norms.[69] We all have our humanity to gain from change.

## CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE

The first part of this article traced the history of the development of higher educational opportunities for women. It showed first that the development of higher education for women has been closely related to the economy's need for female workers with particular skills and to the financial needs of colleges and universities. Secondly, it documented that neither the difference between the educational resources offered to men and women, nor the gap between the income going to men and women with the same level of educational attainment has been significantly reduced. The second half of the article illustrated how institutions of higher education have generally been characterized by the exploitative, striving, and entrepreneurial culture to which men have been socialized. It then portrayed an alternative culture, a culture of cooperation, community, and creativity.

The history of women's higher education sketched in this paper suggests that neither educational equality for women nor the hybrid model of social relations is likely to be realized within the present economic structure. People who want academia or any other sphere of life to be characterized by cooperative, egalitarian social relations need to actively concern themselves with questions regarding the nature of the economy and its influence on every aspect of human life and social relations within our society. Within the foreseeable future the system may not be changed, but if it is not, we all—men and women alike—will be the losers.

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[67] Bernard, *Women and the Public Interest*, p. 278.

[68] Rossi, "The Beginning of Ideology," p. 16.

[69] Alice Rossi, "Sisterhood Is Beautiful," *Psychology Today* 6, no. 3 (August 1972), p. 75.

From: Alice S. Rossi and Ann Calderwood (eds.),
Academic Women on the Move, New York: Russell
Sage Foundation, 1973.

## *Chapter Two*

# Institutional Barriers to Women Students in Higher Education

*Pamela Roby*

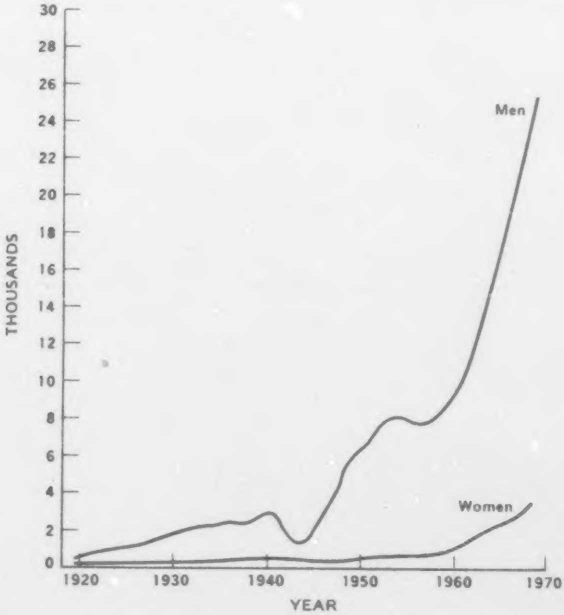
HIGHER education in America has undergone an unprecedented growth over the past fifty years. In the short span of twenty years, college enrollment has tripled, from 2.3 million students in 1950 to 7 million in 1970. Recent estimates of future growth predict a continuing increase, although at a slower rate, well into the 1980s when enrollment is expected to taper off at about 12 million (Carnegie Commission 1968; Cartter 1970). This phenomenal growth in student enrollment has been matched by a comparable increase in the number of college teachers. As seen in Figure 2.1, there has been a dramatic upturn in the number of doctorates awarded each year during the same twenty-year period that student enrollment underwent its major increase. In the post-World War II period, between 5,000 and 7,000 doctorates were granted each year. In 1970, 30,000 doctorates were awarded. Predictions of future growth vary, but even a conservative estimate foresees about 50,000 doctoral degrees awarded annually by 1980 (Cartter 1970:9).

In *absolute* terms, women have shared in this educational boom. There were some 40,000 women employed as faculty or other professional staff in higher education in the academic year 1939–1940; by 1963–1964 this had almost tripled to 110,000 women (see Table 2.1). So too, the number of doctorates awarded yearly to women has grown from 107 fifty years ago, to almost 4,000 by 1970 (see Table 2.2).

But in *relative* terms, women have lost ground in academe over the past fifty years. Just before World War II, women constituted 28 percent of the faculty and professional staff in academe, but by 1963–1964, this had dropped to 22 percent (see Table 2.1). The proportion of doctoral degrees granted to women shows a similar decrease. In the early 1920s women earned 16 percent of all doctorates. Except for the war years, there was a gradual decline in the proportion of degrees earned by women to a low of 9 percent in 1953–1954. Since then, there has been a gradual increase, but by 1969–1970, women received only 13.3 percent of the degrees awarded, still below their representation fifty years ago (see Table 2.2).

Women, then, have not benefited from the educational boom to the extent men have; they never have had more than a tentative foothold in academe except as tuition-paying undergraduate students. The overriding fact concerning women in

FIGURE 2.1. Annual Awards of Doctorates in the United States, 1919–1969, by Sex



SOURCE: 1919–1947 data: National Academy of Sciences 1963: 51, 53; 1947–1970 data: American Council on Education 1971; 71.193, 71.194.

academe is their continuing *underrepresentation.* This chapter will explore the institutional or structural barriers to the entry of women into higher education and to their ability to persist there long enough to earn higher degrees. By institutional barriers we mean those policies and practices in higher education which hinder women in their efforts to obtain advanced education. These barriers include practices pertaining to student admission, financial aid, student counseling, student services, degree requirements, and curriculum.

## ADMISSION

Whether and to what extent women are discriminated against in college admissions is difficult to determine. No national statistics are available on college applicants who have been rejected by institutions of higher education. We know the characteristics of those who are accepted and we can compare women enrollees with men enrollees, but we do not know if the rejection rate is higher among women

TABLE 2.1. Faculty and Other Professional Staff[a] of Institutions of Higher Education, 1939–1964, by Sex

| *Academic Year* | *Total Number* | *Women* | *Percent Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1939–40 | 147,790 | 40,855 | 28 |
| 1949–50 | 248,749 | 71,286 | 25 |
| 1951–52 | 246,337 | 58,012 | 24 |
| 1953–54 | 268,028 | 61,823 | 23 |
| 1955–56 | 301,582 | 69,475 | 23 |
| 1957–58 | 348,509 | 78,496 | 22. |
| 1959–60 | 382,664 | 84,690 | 22 |
| 1961–62 | 427,833 | 94,003 | 22 |
| 1963–64 | 498,359 | 110,594 | 22 |

SOURCE: American Council on Education 1970:70.125.

[a] Includes full- and part-time faculty for resident instruction in degree credit and other courses, extension courses by mail, radio, TV, short courses, and individual lessons; professional staff for general administration, student personnel services, library, organized research; professional staff in elementary and secondary schools conducted by institutions of higher education. Changes in definitions and categories adopted for the 1966 and following surveys limit comparison with earlier figures.

applicants to colleges than among men applicants, nor whether this varies by type of institution.

In the absence of such information, we must examine indirect and partial evidence. Table 2.3 sets the stage for one approach to the analysis, by giving an overview of the percentage of women at various educational levels. There is full sex equity among high school graduates (women earn 50.4 percent of the high school diplomas). But the transition from high school to a college freshman class involves an immediate attrition of women: women are 44.7 percent of first-time enrollees in institutions of higher education; 43 percent of those earning bachelor's degrees; 39.6 percent of master's degree earners; and, as noted above, a mere 13.3 percent of doctoral degree recipients (see Table 2.3).

If women could be shown to perform more poorly than men in high school, this might account for the drop in the proportion of women between high school graduates and college freshmen. But this clearly is not the case. The American Council on Education (ACE) has conducted periodic surveys of entering freshmen classes of large, national, stratified samples. Their findings consistently show that women's high school academic records are superior to those of male high school graduates. Table 2.4 summarizes their results using two measures of academic performance of all 1971 high school graduates: grade point average and rank position in the graduating class. In every type of institution (with the single exception of four-year technical institutes), a much larger proportion of women than men either earned grade point averages of B+ or better, or placed in the top quarter of their class.

**TABLE 2.2. Annual Awards of Doctorates in the United States, 1919–1969, by Sex**

| *Academic Year* | *Total Doctorates* | *Number Women* | *Percent Women* | *Academic Year* | *Total Doctorates* | *Number Women* | *Percent Women* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1919–20 | 560 | 90 | 16.0 | 1944–45 | 1,629 | 333 | 20.4 |
| 1920–21 | 660 | 107 | 16.2 | 1945–46 | 1,988 | 380 | 19.1 |
| 1921–22 | 780 | 113 | 14.4 | 1946–47 | 2,949 | 411 | 13.9 |
| 1922–23 | 1,062 | 157 | 14.7 | 1947–48 | 3,989 | 493 | 12.3 |
| 1923–24 | 1,124 | 167 | 14.8 | 1948–49 | 5,050 | 522 | 10.3 |
| 1924–25 | 1,203 | 203 | 16.8 | 1949–50 | 6,420 | 616 | 9.5 |
| 1925–26 | 1,438 | 197 | 13.6 | 1950–51 | 7,338 | 674 | 9.1 |
| 1926–27 | 1,538 | 230 | 14.9 | 1951–52 | 7,683 | 714 | 9.2 |
| 1927–28 | 1,617 | 232 | 14.3 | 1952–53 | 8,309 | 792 | 9.5 |
| 1928–29 | 1,907 | 320 | 16.7 | 1953–54 | 8,996 | 815 | 9.0 |
| 1929–30 | 2,058 | 311 | 15.1 | 1954–55 | 8,840 | 826 | 9.3 |
| 1930–31 | 2,329 | 356 | 15.2 | 1955–56 | 8,903 | 885 | 9.9 |
| 1931–32 | 2,397 | 383 | 15.9 | 1956–57 | 8,756 | 939 | 10.7 |
| 1932–33 | 2,452 | 345 | 14.0 | 1957–58 | 8,942 | 964 | 10.7 |
| 1933–34 | 2,692 | 350 | 13.0 | 1958–59 | 9,360 | 989 | 10.5 |
| 1934–35 | 2,582 | 363 | 14.0 | 1959–60 | 9,829 | 1,028 | 10.4 |
| 1935–36 | 2,749 | 419 | 15.2 | 1960–61 | 10,575 | 1,112 | 10.5 |
| 1936–37 | 2,749 | 405 | 14.7 | 1961–62 | 11,622 | 1,245 | 10.7 |
| 1937–38 | 2,731 | 420 | 15.3 | 1962–63 | 12,822 | 1,374 | 10.7 |
| 1938–39 | 2,847 | 411 | 14.4 | 1963–64 | 14,490 | 1,535 | 10.5 |
| 1939–40 | 3,245 | 421 | 12.9 | 1964–65 | 16,467 | 1,775 | 11.6 |
| 1940–41 | 3,566 | 405 | 11.3 | 1965–66 | 18,239 | 2,118 | 11.6 |
| 1941–42 | 3,386 | 418 | 12.3 | 1966–67 | 20,621 | 2,457 | 11.9 |
| 1942–43 | 2,564 | 390 | 15.2 | 1967–68 | 23,091 | 2,906 | 12.5 |
| 1943–44 | 1,939 | 328 | 16.9 | 1968–69 | 26,189 | 3,436 | 13.1 |
|  |  |  |  | 1969–70 | 29,872 | 3,980 | 13.3 |

SOURCE: 1919–1947 data—National Academy of Sciences 1963:51, 53; 1947–1970 data—American Council on Education 1971a:71.193, 71.194.

Once in college, women continued to demonstrate superior academic performance. Women freshmen across all types of institutions achieved a better profile of academic performance during their first year at college than did men. Some 28.6 percent of the freshmen women compared to 19.6 percent of the freshmen men earned a grade point average of B or higher in their first year (see Table 2.5).

The same pattern continues into graduate school. Samples of graduate students show that women who reach graduate departments had better undergraduate academic records than men graduate students. Table 2.6 shows that some 37 percent of the women compared to 26 percent of the men graduate students in 1969 had undergraduate grade point averages of A— or better.

These indices of the superior academic performance of women at both undergraduate and graduate levels are important to bear in mind when we examine other

**TABLE 2.3. Earned Degrees and First-Time Enrollees in Institutions of Higher Education by Level of Study and Sex: 1970**

| *Earned Degrees and Enrollment* | *Total* | *Men* | *Women* | *Percent Women* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High school graduates, 1969--1970 | 2,906,000 | 1,439,000 | 1,467,000 | 50.4 |
| First-time enrollees in institutions of higher education, 1970 | 1,775,158 | 981,154 | 794,004 | 44.7 |
| Bachelor's degrees requiring four or five years, 1969–1970 | 792,316 | 451,097 | 341,219 | 43.0 |
| Second-level (master's) degrees, 1969–1970 | 208,291 | 125,624 | 82,667 | 39.6 |
| Doctoral degrees (Ph.D., Ed.D., Eng.D., Sci.D.), 1969–1970 | 29,866 | 25,890 | 3,976 | 13.3 |

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare 1972:51, 69, 90.

aspects of the educational experience of women and men in higher education. It is traditionally claimed that the rewards of higher education are based on merit. In the light of women's superior academic performance, they should receive *more* financial support in the form of fellowships and grants, be *more* likely to finish their advanced training, and be likely to secure even *better* jobs once they leave the campus. It is an open secret that none of these things have actually happened.

**TABLE 2.4. High School Academic Performance of Fall 1971 Entering Freshmen, by Sex and Type of College**

| *Type of College or University* | *Percent B+ or better Average HS Grade* | | *Percent Top Quarter of HS Class* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| All institutions | 25.1 | 41.1 | 35.1 | 49.7 |
| All two-year colleges | 11.1 | 25.6 | 15.5 | 29.3 |
| Two-year public | 11.0 | 26.5 | 15.4 | 30.1 |
| Two-year private | 11.8 | 18.2 | 16.9 | 23.3 |
| All four-year colleges | 29.9 | 44.3 | 42.6 | 55.6 |
| Technical institutions | 60.0 | 45.9 | 74.9 | 46.7 |
| Public | 17.4 | 39.9 | 30.8 | 54.5 |
| Private nonsectarian | 36.4 | 54.2 | 47.7 | 60.7 |
| Protestant | 28.9 | 59.0 | 42.4 | 58.9 |
| Catholic | 28.5 | 44.8 | 35.2 | 49.1 |
| All universities | 43.2 | 59.7 | 59.1 | 70.6 |
| Public | 37.2 | 56.8 | 54.9 | 69.0 |
| Private | 63.0 | 72.6 | 72.7 | 77.8 |

SOURCE: American Council on Education 1971b:25, 33.

**TABLE 2.5. Grade Point Average during First Year of College, by Type of Institution and Sex: 1966–1967**
**(In percentages)**

| *Grade Point Average* | *All Institutions* | | *Two-Year Colleges* | | *Four-Year Colleges* | | *Universities* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| A– or better | 3.9 | 5.4 | 2.5 | 4.3 | 3.7 | 5.1 | 5.7 | 6.8 |
| B or B+ | 15.7 | 23.2 | 14.1 | 21.8 | 14.1 | 23.6 | 17.9 | 23.9 |
| B– | 14.0 | 16.5 | 22.3 | 29.3 | 22.6 | 32.3 | 24.9 | 31.1 |
| C+ | 22.1 | 22.0 | 24.3 | 22.5 | 22.2 | 22.8 | 20.0 | 20.3 |
| C | 34.3 | 27.6 | 37.3 | 32.5 | 34.5 | 26.0 | 31.4 | 25.7 |
| D | 9.9 | 5.2 | 8.5 | 4.0 | 10.6 | 5.3 | 10.3 | 6.2 |

SOURCE: Bayer et al. 1970:19.

One significant remedy to the underrepresentation of women students on all levels is a very easy one to implement: simply admit women with academic records that match those of men who are admitted. Though admittedly indirect evidence, the data reviewed here strongly suggest that institutions of higher education maintain higher standards for the admission of women than they do for men. Here, too, there are scattered bits of evidence to support the allegation that colleges and universities have "rule of thumb" if not covert quotas on sex which are followed in the admission procedure. Dr. Peter Muirhead (at the time, associate commissioner of education of HEW), told the House subcommittee investigating sex discrimination in higher education:

> We know that many colleges admit fixed percentages of men and women each year, resulting in a freshman class with fewer women meeting higher standards than it would contain if women were admitted on the same basis as men. At Cornell University, for example, the ratio of men to women remains 3 to 1

**TABLE 2.6. Undergraduate Grade Point Averages of American Graduate Students in Ph.D. Programs, by Sex**
**(In percentages)**

| *Undergraduate Grade Point Average* | *Men* | *Women* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A or A+ | 9.7 | 13.8 | 10.7 |
| A– | 16.2 | 23.1 | 17.9 |
| B+ | 22.6 | 29.4 | 24.2 |
| B | 18.0 | 16.6 | 17.7 |
| B– | 17.1 | 10.7 | 15.5 |
| C+ | 13.4 | 5.7 | 11.5 |
| C or below | 2.9 | 0.8 | 2.4 |

SOURCE: Creager 1971:45.

> from year to year; at Harvard/Radcliffe it is 4 to 1. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's fall 1969 "Profile of the Freshman Class" states, "admission of women on the freshman level will be restricted to those who are especially well qualified." They admitted 3,231 men or about half of the male applicants, and 747 women, about one-fourth of the female applicants (United States Congress 1970:643).

When Yale University turned coeducational, the president made several speeches assuring alumni that Yale would continue to produce its usual quota of the national "leaders," and it has been no secret that women admitted to Yale have been subject to much more stringent admission reviews than men applicants.

Threat of legal action has on some occasions forced the hand of public universities on this admissions issue. In 1969, a suit that charged the University of Virginia with violation of women's rights was dropped before the court could rule because the university changed its policy to admit women in order to prevent the establishment of legal precedents through court action. At Pennsylvania State University, the faculty senate voted only in 1972 to abolish all student admission quotas for women; the undergraduate ratio of men to women had previously been maintained at 2½ to 1 (Association of American Colleges 1972:1). As Muirhead suggests, there are probably many other state colleges and universities that receive sizable amounts of public funds which still have unpublicized universitywide or departmental fixed quotas to limit the proportion of women admitted.

The use of such discriminatory quotas has been particularly prevalent in medical schools. Dr. Frances S. Norris, M.D., testified to the House subcommittee that the number of women entering medical schools has been limited to a range of 7–10 percent of the total admissions, at least in part because of the admitted prejudice of medical school admissions committees. She testified that interviews with admissions officers at twenty-five northeastern medical schools revealed that "nineteen admitted they accepted men in preference to women unless the women were demonstrably superior" (Murray 1971:251). One "corrective" device used to process admissions is to apply an "equal rejection" theory to the applicants—women applicants are separated from men applicants, and an equal proportion of each sex category is accepted, which means that women are not judged on an equal competitive basis with men. Since women have better academic records than men, and in traditionally masculine fields like medicine and law only the very best women even apply, it is clear that the "equal rejection" procedure discriminates against women. Of some 2,097 women who applied for admission to medical school in 1968–1969, only 976 were accepted (Murray 1971:251). That women constitute only a small proportion of physicians in the United States compared to women in many other countries reflects not a "shortcoming" of women, nor simply the consequence of a long history of systematic discouragement of women aspiring to medical careers, but the systematic exclusion of women by medical schools admissions committees. As Dr. Norris testified: studies of medical school admissions policies make it "apparent that the women rejected from the small female applicant pool were equal to or better than men accepted and that they were rejected because their sex quota was filled" (United States Congress 1970:511–512).

In a seven-year study of the attitudes of medical schools toward women students, Kaplan reported that "widespread prejudice is depriving the nation of urgently needed physicians." One dean is quoted as saying "I just don't like women as people or doctors—they belong at home cooking and cleaning." Another stated "I have enough trouble understanding my wife and daughter—I certainly don't want women as medical students" (*American Medical News* 1970:1).

Dinerman reports that law schools do not follow the quota system that has so notoriously restricted women from medical schools, but they:

> do admit to scrutinizing female applicants more closely for ability and motivation. Some schools give close consideration to the marital status of women before granting admission, and other schools take into account the possibility that a female student might not graduate and continue to practice. It follows that a male applicant is often chosen over an equally qualified female (Dinerman 1969:951).

In his study of female and male law school graduates, White also investigated the views of law school officials and reported that of sixty-three placement officers, forty-three believed that discrimination against women law school graduates is "significant," fourteen stated it was "extensive," and only six felt it was "insignificant" (White 1967:1085).

There is no way we can draw up a balance sheet that distinguishes the extent to which discrimination operates to exclude women from advanced graduate and professional training and the extent to which self-exclusion from advanced training results from the sex-role socialization that inhibits women's aspirations. Sewell's longitudinal study of 1957 Wisconsin high school seniors suggests that women are seriously disadvantaged compared to men because both parents and teachers are far less likely to encourage women to "aim high" in their life goals (Sewell 1971:800). By the time young men and women reach their senior year in college, women have lower aspiration levels than do men. In a nationwide sample of June 1961 college graduates Davis found that only 24 percent of the women (compared to 39 percent of the men) planned to attend graduate school the following year, despite the fact that 63 percent of the women seniors (but only 50 percent of the men) were in the top half of their graduating class. Only 14 percent of the men had *no* plans to attend graduate school at any point in the future, but a full 22 percent of the women considered their formal education at an end when they graduated from college (Davis 1964:85).

## FINANCIAL AID

Compared to the admission picture, much firmer data exist on the issue of how men and women support themselves in their passage through higher education.

Much of the research on financial support was triggered by government concern for scientific manpower following the launching of Sputnik in 1957, when it was feared the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in scientific and technological expertise. From the early 1960s on, the federal government has played a major role in stimulating students to obtain scientific and technical training, and underwriting massive programs of stipends and loans to both individual students and institutions of higher education. The periodic surveys of entering freshmen conducted by the American Council on Education have kept close watch on how students support themselves in college and graduate work. Table 2.7 summarizes the findings of its most recent survey.

**TABLE 2.7. Major Sources of Financial Support of College Freshmen, Fall 1971, by Sex (In percentages)**

| *Sources* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Parental or family aid | 48.9 | 61.2 |
| Part-time or summer employment | 34.2 | 22.8 |
| Scholarships and grants | 18.4 | 20.5 |
| Loans (NDEA, institutional, or government insured | 13.8 | 15.9 |
| Savings from employment | 11.5 | 6.9 |
| Other repayable loans | 5.6 | 7.0 |
| Personal military service | 4.5 | 0.2 |
| Parent's military service | 1.9 | 1.8 |

SOURCE: American Council on Education 1971b:26, 34.

Most college students do not rely on just one source of financial support, but on two or more. Only the most privileged students from financially well-off families have their college bills covered exclusively by their parents. Many hold jobs as well as scholarships; others supplement aid from their parents with summertime employment; still others take out loans and combine study with part-time employment.

There is one major difference between women and men college students in the sources of their financial support. Parents of women undergraduate students provide a much larger share of college costs than parents of men students (61.2 percent versus 48.9 percent). Men, to a much greater extent than women, rely on their own earnings from part-time work, summer jobs, or savings (45.7 percent versus 29.7 percent). The data also suggests, a slightly greater tendency for women college students to rely on loans than do men (27.5 percent to 19.4 percent). This is partially balanced by the educational benefits a small proportion of men draw from military service. In general, women show a pattern of greater dependency on parents or borrowing against their future, while men tend to draw on some means of self-support or use benefits or savings. Data are less extensive on the ***amount*** of financial aid men and women students receive. One national survey of 1969–1970 college sophomores who were full-time students found that the average financial aid awarded to women by institutions was $518 compared to $765 to men (Horch 1972). It is difficult to interpret this difference. More women than men receive aid from their parents, and fewer women than men from families in the lower income brackets attend college—a point we shall return to below. Whether these factors are the cause or the result of the discrepancy in the financial aid awarded to woman and men cannot be determined by these data.

The American Council on Education study mentioned above also examined students' expectations regarding barriers to completing their education (see Table 2.8). Very few men and women college freshmen thought it likely that they would drop out either temporarily or permanently, and only one in ten anticipated that financing their education was a major concern. At the same time, a majority expressed "some concern" about financing their educations, and a third believed that the chances were very good that they would work at outside jobs. Women and men equally expected to contribute to their college expenses in the future. But even among the freshmen, men students were more apt than women students to be working or drawing on earnings from past employment (34.2 percent versus 22.8 percent; see Table 2.7)—a finding that may reflect both greater economic independence of boys in high school and the prolonged dependency of girls on their families until they are somewhat further along in college than their brothers. It also must be borne in mind that both the range and the pay of jobs men students are able to get permit them to contribute a good deal more than women students to the costs of their education. This may make self-support far more attractive to men than to women undergraduates.

**TABLE 2.8. Expectations That May Hinder College Completion among Entering Freshmen, Fall 1971, by Sex (In percentages)**

| *Item* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Concern about financing education | | |
| No concern | 35.3 | 32.4 |
| Some concern | 55.0 | 56.4 |
| Major concern | 9.7 | 11.2 |
| Estimate chances are very good that they will: | | |
| Drop out temporarily | 1.4 | 1.5 |
| Drop out permanently | 0.7 | 1.0 |
| Work at outside job | 33.4 | 32.9 |
| Get married while in college | 7.3 | 9.8 |
| Transfer to another college | 10.9 | 12.1 |

SOURCE: American Council on Education 1971b:23, 25, 29, 37.

Differences by sex in financial support of graduate study are more complex. The sources of support tend to be more varied because there are far more institutional and government stipends available to graduate students, and because graduate students have more personal expenses to meet. Many graduate students rely on a combination of employment, savings, help from their families, plus a graduate stipend or assistantship. Table 2.9 shows the results from the ACE survey of graduate students in 1969. About two-thirds of both women and men graduate students receive some type of institutional aid if they are in doctoral programs. Roughly a third of both women and men rely on the earnings of a spouse to cover some educational expenses. There is a slightly greater tendency for men than women to rely on nonacademic job earnings, and for women to rely more on aid from family and spouse.

**TABLE 2.9. Sources of Income of American Graduate Students, 1969, by Sex and Highest Degree Expected (In percentages)**

| | *Ph.D. Candidates Only* | | *All Graduate Students*[b] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Sources of Income*[a] | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Teaching/research assistantship | 43.4 | 37.1 | 31.0 | 30.0 |
| Fellowship | 25.8 | 28.7 | 17.7 | 15.0 |
| Spouse's job | 30.1 | 32.5 | 29.3 | 38.5 |
| Nonacademic job | 31.5 | 22.9 | 39.2 | 23.9 |
| Savings and/or investments | 31.4 | 29.6 | 34.1 | 30.7 |
| Aid from family | 15.7 | 21.7 | 17.7 | 17.8 |
| Loans (personal/government/institutional) | 15.8 | 15.9 | 18.4 | 13.0 |
| Other | 15.6 | 12.8 | 18.3 | 18.2 |

SOURCE: Creager 1971:19.

[a] Multiple responses possible, so total exceeds 100 percent.

[b] Includes Ph.D., Ed.D., first professional and subdoctoral-nonprofessional graduate students.

Table 2.10 compares the sources of financial support during the undergraduate and graduate school years by sex. As we noted earlier, graduate education is subsidized to a much greater extent than undergraduate education: an increase from about one in five undergraduates to two out of three graduate students. No significant sex differences are found on this dimension of support.

The differences in support by sex found at the undergraduate level are considerably blurred at the graduate level. Men continue to be somewhat more dependent than women on their own efforts, through employment and use of savings or loans, while women are somewhat more dependent on contributions from their families (most frequently, their husbands). Since women tend to marry men somewhat older than themselves and men receive better pay than women, it is clearly the case that husbands of married women graduate students are better able to contribute

**TABLE 2.10. Type of Income Sources of 1971 College Freshmen and 1969 Doctoral Graduate Students, by Sex**
**(In percentages)**

| | *1971 College Freshmen* | | *1969 Ph.D. Students* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Type of Income Sources*[a] | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Own efforts | 69.6 | 42.8 | 78.7 | 68.4 |
| Family efforts | 50.8 | 63.0 | 45.8 | 54.2 |
| Institutional efforts | 18.4 | 20.5 | 69.2 | 65.8 |

SOURCE: Computed from Tables 2.8 and 2.9.

[a] Classifications are derived from specific items in Tables 2.8 and 2.9, and are defined as follows: *Own effort*—nonacademic job, savings, employment, loans, personal military service; *family effort*—parents and spouse, parent's military service; *institutional effort*—fellowships, teaching or research assistantships, scholarships and grants.

toward expenses than can the wives of men students. The ACE survey found that 32 percent of the women graduate students but only 20 percent of the men graduate students reported a total family income above $12,000 a year (Creager 1971:18).

At both undergraduate and graduate levels of higher education, women are more dependent on their families for support of their higher education. The psychological consequences of the differences in financial dependency are crucial and have never been examined empirically. Whether it is father or husband who contributes to a woman's education, emotional indebtedness accompanies such support. Data is not available concerning possible class differences in the differential support of daughters and sons. It is likely that upper- and middle-class women are assured financial help through their college years, but what happens to bright young women from less well off families is not really known. If women depend more on family support than do men, it may be that daughters in lower middle- and working-class families are especially penalized compared to their brothers. Not only may such families have lowered the educational aspirations of their daughters to a greater extent than their sons, but they may consider it appropriate for sons to "work their way" through college, but inappropriate for their daughters to do so.

That social class makes a very great difference in the probability of acquiring some form of post-high school education has been known for a long time. Sewell recently calculated these differential chances as follows:

> a high SES student has almost a 2.5 times as much chance as a low SES student of continuing in some kind of post-high school education. He has an almost 4 to 1 advantage in access to college, a 6 to 1 advantage in college graduation, and a 9 to 1 advantage in graduate or professional education (Sewell 1971: 795).

Sewell points out that the educational chances of males are uniformly greater than those of females at every SES level. More importantly, this advantage of men over women increases dramatically as we move down the social class ladder. Thus Sewell estimates that the *percentage advantage of men over women* in completing college education is 28 percent among the top socioeconomic stratum but 86 percent among the bottom stratum. Comparable figures concerning attendance at graduate or professional school are 129 percent for the top and 250 percent for the bottom strata (Sewell 1971:795). Being a woman *and* coming from a lower income family are powerful deterrents to acquiring a higher education.

Even more persuasive is Sewell's conclusion that the handicaps of social class and sex are great even after academic ability is taken into account:

> The selective influences of socio-economic background and sex operate independently of academic ability at every stage in the process of educational attainment. Social selection is most vividly apparent in the transition from high school to college, but it is operative at every other transition point as well (Sewell 1971:796).

Sewell estimates that if women's opportunities for acquiring a higher education had been equalized in the cohort he studied, there would have been a 28 percent increase in the number of women who obtained some schooling beyond high school, a 52 percent increase in the number who attended college, and a 68 percent increase in the number who graduated from college (Sewell 1971:796). Since working class families are larger and have fewer resources to support all their children through college, sons frequently are singled out for higher education while their daughters take a two-year nursing course, a three-month course to qualify as a beautician, a year's secretarial course, or move directly from high school to clerical, sales, operative, and service occupations.

There is little evidence of great differences by sex in institutional financial support. However, if academic competence and performance strictly determined who receives fellowships and assistantships, more women than men would receive support, since women demonstrate superior overall academic performance. In his 1961 study of college graduates, Davis found that women were slightly less apt to apply for financial aid than men in all fields except the social sciences and the health professions (Davis 1964:204).

There are many situations in which women simply are not considered for particularly lucrative fellowships. Women represent one-third of the student body at the New York University Law School, but it took a considerable amount of pressure from the school's Women's Rights Committee before the law school would even consider women for its highly coveted scholarships, the prestigious and lucrative Root-Tilden and Snow Scholarships. As two of the women testified at a congressional hearing:

> Twenty Root-Tilden Scholarships worth more than $10,000 each were awarded to male "future public leaders" each year. Women, of course, can't be leaders, and NYU contributed its share to making that presumption a reality by its exclusionary policy (Hearings 1970:584, 588).

Murray reports a similar charge against Cornell University regarding scholarships and prizes open to arts and science undergraduates but restricted on the basis of sex. Women, it turned out, were "eligible" for only 15 percent of these annual scholarships (Murray 1971:255).

Another restriction upon the aid for which women may apply is the limitation of practically all federal scholarship and loan aid to full-time students. There is only a small difference by sex in the proportion of doctoral graduate students who are enrolled on a part-time basis (30.7 percent of the women and 26.6 percent of the men; see Creager 1971:36), but there is reason to believe that many women, particularly those who are married and carrying family responsibilities, would *prefer* to be part-time students. The pressure on graduate students to enroll on a full-time basis is itself a coercive factor that shapes the marital patterns of all couples in which one or both partners is a student. An increasing number of young husbands and wives are attempting to share family and household responsibilities equally (Astin 1969). The requirement that one partner must study or work full-time makes an equal division of familial responsibilities very difficult. Pressure on employers to provide the option of part-time work may increase in the future, if we can extrapolate from an interesting finding in the Creager study of contemporary graduate students: 70 percent of both women and men graduate students endorsed the view that "career will take second place to family obligations" in their lives (Creager 1971:68).

Those who are now part-time students are almost automatically cut off from any real chance for financial assistance. Women often are told they do not qualify or stand little chance for stipend support because "someone is already supporting them"—their husbands. Since women with higher degrees can anticipate considerably lower wages than men, it may also be the case that many women hesitate to borrow too heavily against their future earnings through loans.

One of the serious limitations of studies of financial support to women graduate students is their restriction to women who are *attending* graduate schools. Countless women may never attempt to enter graduate school because they cannot anticipate financial support from either their husbands or schools. The underrepresentation of women in graduate and professional schools is not apt to change until the perceived barriers, as well as the actual barriers, are reduced.

## CAMPUS COUNSELING

Once the "entry" barriers have been hurdled the woman student faces a set of obstacles peculiar to her sex in addition to the "normal" trials that accompany advanced training. College advisors have been known to counsel women students away from rigorous, traditionally male courses of study, or away from advanced work of any kind. A woman psychologist reported a member of her department who feels strongly that "women should not be professionals" and shows no hesitation in making his view known to his women students. At another university, women students reported a professor who tells his students that "the fact that women have produced less than men professionally and artistically is an indicator of women's lesser ability." A well-meaning career services officer at Princeton suggested that "although it sounded old-fashioned, it really was a good idea for women to have secretarial skills to fall back on" (Showalter 1970:8). Harris reports the most common question women graduate students hear from their professors is "Are you really serious?" She cites a number of typical responses of faculty to graduate women:

> The admissions committee didn't do their job. There is not one good-looking girl in the entering class.
>
> A pretty girl like you will certainly get married; why don't you stop with an M.A.?
>
> You're so cute. I can't see you as a professor of anything.
>
> We expect women who come here to be competent, good students, but we don't expect them to be brilliant or original.
>
> How old are you anyway? Do you think that a girl like you could handle a job like this? You don't look like the academic type.
>
> Somehow I can never take women in this field seriously.
>
> Any woman who has got this far has got to be a kook. There are already too many women in this Department (Harris 1970:285).

Angered by such statements, University of Chicago graduate women attached a set of them to a page addressed to their professors, explaining why such comments are harmful and offensive to women:

> Comments such as these can hardly be taken as encouragement for women students to develop an image of themselves as scholars. They indicate that some of our professors have different expectations about our performance than about the performance of male graduate students—expectations based not on our ability as individuals but on the fact that we are women. Comments like these indicate that we are expected to be decorative objects in the classroom, that we're not likely to finish a Ph.D. and if we do, there must be something "wrong" with us. Single women will get married and drop out. Married women will have children and drop out. And a woman with children ought to stay at home and take care of them rather than study and teach.
>
> Expectations have a great effect on performance. Rosenthal and Jacobson have shown that when teachers expected randomly selected students to "bloom" during the year, these students' IQ's increased significantly above those in a control group. . . . It would be surprising to find that graduate students are immune to this phenomenon. When professors expect less of certain students, those students are likely to respond by producing less (Harris 1970:285).

Consistent with these expectations are the findings of one ACE survey that men doctoral students are more apt than women students to agree that "the female graduate students in the department are not as dedicated to the field as the males" and women are considerably more apt than men to agree that "professors in the department don't really take female graduate students seriously" (see Table 2.11).

**TABLE 2.11. Attitudes toward Women Graduate Students among Doctoral Program Graduate Students, 1969, by Sex**

| *Item* | *Ph.D. Students Only* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* |
| The female graduate students in department are not as dedicated to the field as male students. Percent agree . | 23.6 | 17.6 |
| Professors in department don't really take female graduate students seriously. Percent agree | 21.2 | 30.9 |

SOURCE: Creager 1971:64, 65.

An atmosphere of disparagement only compounds the normal anxiety associated with graduate study and works against finding pleasure and success in one's work. In the Creager study doctoral students were asked to indicate the extent to which certain types of barriers might prevent them from completing graduate work (see Table 2.12). Both pressure from a spouse and emotional strain were more frequently reported by women than men students. Consistent with their poorer aca-

**TABLE 2.12. Perceived Barriers to Completion of Graduate Work among Doctoral Program Graduate Students, 1969, by Sex (In percentages)**

| *Factor* | *Item* | *Ph.D. Students Only* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Men* | *Women* |
| Ability | Academic inability will prevent completion of graduate work: Yes or maybe | 20.0 | 15.4 |
| Interest | Lack of interest will prevent completion of graduate work: Yes or maybe | 22.9 | 23.3 |
| Finances | Lack of finances will prevent completion of graduate work: Yes or maybe | 35.4 | 37.9 |
| Stress | Emotional strain will prevent completion of graduate work: Yes or maybe | 27.5 | 35.3 |
| Spouse | Pressure from spouse will prevent completion of graduate work: Yes or maybe | 11.6 | 15.3 |

SOURCE: Creager 1971:40, 41, 42.

demic performance, men students more frequently than women view "academic inability" as a potential barrier to completion of their work. The most serious potential problem for more than one-third of both women and men is the financial one. Interestingly, there is only a slight tendency for women to report pressure from their spouse more often than men students do. The largest difference by sex is the factor of *emotional strain:* 35 percent of the women students consider this a possible barrier to completion of their graduate work compared to 27 percent of the men graduate students. For a group that so often is made to feel unwelcome, whose creativity is questioned, whose motivation is held suspect, it is surprising that more women students do not report emotional strain as a barrier. One would assume that women who survived these difficulties would find easy acceptance at later stages of their academic careers, but the remaining chapters of this book report quite a different story.

## CAMPUS REGULATIONS AND SERVICES

Few undergraduate and even fewer graduate women are any longer plagued by campus regulations that traditionally restricted women's personal lives and served as a constant reminder that they were in special need of "protection." On today's campus, the controversy over the assumptions underlying such regulations focuses on the issues of contraception and abortion referral and their inclusion in health services available to women students. In the fall of 1971, American University women students staged a sit-in in the president's office in an effort to secure a campus gynecologist, after less dramatic appeals had failed. Although abortion counseling and referral continues to be a hotly debated issue, one gynecologist at an eastern university has urged these services be considered a key service for women students, since its availability may determine whether or not a woman will be able to remain a student and to attain the level of education she desires.

The second type of service that has been in great demand in recent years is child-care. It has been an uphill battle to convince institutions of higher education that such facilities are much needed by and represent a legitimate service for both students and younger faculty members that academe should provide to its constituency. One study of women who planned but were not attending graduate school indicated that the availability of child-care facilities topped the list of the factors they considered most important as a condition to graduate study (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Institute of Health 1968:9). Despite this important finding, most colleges and universities continue to ignore the growing demand for day-care facilities.

## CURRICULUM

At both the undergraduate and graduate level women students are often subjected to a concentrated dosage of materials formulated by and filtered through an exclusively male perspective. All too often instructors and textbook writers seem to have joined forces to keep "women in their place." Introductory sociology texts are required reading for over 100,000 students a year, but women typically are mentioned only in chapters on the family. In such chapters women are described in their "traditional" roles as full-time homemakers and mothers—roles which in fact only the upper middle classes of affluent societies can afford. "Marriage and the Family" courses rarely have subjected the modern family to a critical examination. In examining thirty-eight marriage and family textbooks published in the years 1958 through 1970, Wolf cited several examples of this:

> In summary, let us imagine the roles of man and woman in a maximally functional nuclear family. The man would play foreman to the woman's role of worker, official to her role of constituent, and perhaps priest to her role of parishioner (Winch 1965:702).

In another gem, Winch equates "masculinity" with being in the "bigtime":

> Commuting is a form of mobility, and from our analysis it follows that it is more masculine to commute than not to commute . . . there does seem to be a feeling in the suburbs that those men who are in the suburbs during the day —tradespeople, city officials, people in the services and the professions—are somehow less hardy, less he-men and less likely to be "in the bigtime" than those who "go into the city" (Winch 1965:400).

In sociological theory courses, as Friedan has noted, structural-functionalists "by giving an absolute meaning and a sanctimonious value to the generic term 'woman's role' . . . put American women into a kind of deep freeze" (Friedan 1963:118). As in Parsons' (1965) theory of social stratification, "what is" quickly becomes interpreted as "what should be."

Sociology is not alone in ignoring female assertiveness, initiative, and creativity. History, economics, psychology, and literature courses also overlook the human needs and the oppression of women as well as their past and potential achievements. In schools of medicine, engineering, and architecture, where the subject matter itself is less apt to be used to reinforce male and depress female egos, women students are nevertheless channeled into such "feminine" specialities as pediatrics, gynecology, and interior design. Women who persevere in a speciality such as surgery often find themselves blocked by hospital administrations that do not allow them to fulfill their internship requirements (see Chapter Fourteen).

Thus college and university professors place heavy emphasis on the culture and achievements of white males, which may contribute to the motivation of white male students, but dampen the motivation of blacks and women, who hear instead the implicit message, "You do not belong among those who make important decisions for or significant contributions to society. . . . If you try to become something other than a housewife or low-income worker, you will be unsuccessful."

Women today, like blacks a half decade ago, are discovering that they have a history and that there are alternatives to a male-dominated society. As women faculty members have gained experience in offering such courses, they report a change in their own attitude to the subject matter they teach, and their students' response to it. Chapter Seventeen will describe the recent upsurge of women's studies courses and programs. It should be noted, however, that a woman student is lucky if she gets one course out of ten that gives any attention to women.

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## WANTED MORE WOMEN: WHERE ARE THE SUPERINTENDENTS?

Presented by the National Council of Administrative Women in Education

### FOREWORD

In 1965 "Wanted More Women in Educational Leadership" was published by the NCAWE. Since then it has proved its timeliness and value in the drive to put more women into administrative posts. In fact, its argument and its statistics have been definitive in many professional discussions.

However, the movement for more women administrators has changed and speeded up, especially under the spur of Federal legislation. NCAWE found that this publication was more than ever needed, but would be more useful if it was brought up to date. Therefore, a very able committee was selected to make the changes, and . . . "Wanted More Women: Where Are the Women Superintendents?" . . . is the result. The basic problem of the earlier publication is dealt with, but given the latest emphases and information. The absence of women in decision-making in the public schools is highlighted, with examples, and added are the most recent Federal laws and interpretations which require equal treatment of women in administrative positions.

NCAWE is confident that "Wanted More Women: Where Are the Women Superintendents?" will be of immeasurable use to the educational profession as it seeks to correct the present inequitable position of women in policy-making positions. NCAWE believes that the problem and this new information should be brought directly to the attention of every policy-maker in your school system so that the new information will be taken into account in their thinking and decisions.

FRANCES HAMILTON,
*President, 1971–1973.*
FERN RITTER,
*President, 1973–1975.*

### PATTERNS OF DISCRIMINATION

At a recent large-city Board of Education meeting members of the local Council of Administrative Women in Education produced data which proved that women administrators in that school system were excluded from top administrative and policy-making positions. "Where are the women superintendents?", the women asked. "Where are the women department heads?"

Members of the Board were surprised at the questions and had no answers. The chairman of the Board did explain that consideration was given to qualified candidates but that there had been no women applicants. The sigh of agreement around the conference table implied that this simple explanation was accepted. The Board did go a step further. It adopted a motion that the matter be placed with the Personnel Committee for study.

This Board of Education, typically American and predominately male, takes seriously its public trust. Within a month, a typewritten report on the employment of women in that school system was produced. The report confirmed that there were few women in the top echelons but pointed out that there were practical and logical reasons for the situation. These reasons were the usual ones:

Women have home responsibilities;
Women have to stop work to have babies;
Women can't be counted on to stay on the job;
Women don't want demanding jobs.

The report continued, sounding logical all the while.

The report had been carefully and systematically prepared. It had been completed after extensive discussion among school board members, conferences with the administrative staff, and examination of the data available in the school district. An adequate amount of interchange had taken place. Much of the responsibility for the situation was placed upon women. "Women do not prepare themselves," the report stated. "Women do not want the burdens of responsibility."

From its point of view, the Board had dealt fairly with a local personnel question. Unfortunately, despite the care expended on it, the report was not entirely reliable. It was researched and written in the majority by successful men; and successful men, as well as unsuccessful men, have difficulty in understanding the intricacies of sex discrimination.

Unrevealed—and crucial by their absence—were some vital statistics. Nothing in the report mentioned the United States Department of Labor survey shows that an increasing number of women are heads of households; that an increasing number of families are giving priority to the woman's job. Nothing was said about the fact that people working at high-level, high-paying jobs have low job turnover, whether they are men or women. Nothing was included to suggest that a woman's family might be willing to accommodate itself to changes in her job situation.

Missing in the report was testimony from those most familiar with the topic. Women educators in the United States long have lived with the realities of discrimination and are able to write their own story of why so few women are in top administrative and policy-making positions. Whenever these women come together for an exchange of views and observations they find emerging gradually the fact that all of them are facing the same subtle patterns of discrimination. These patterns form an invisible barrier for women who aspire to administrative and policy-making positions.

It is true that most women educators do not get their masters degrees and their doctorates. It is also true that most women do not desire to become deans or commissioners of education. Neither do most men. Wherever leadership resources are valued and utilized, advancement is determined in terms of individual goals, experience and ability—not sex.

What are the patterns of discrimination? Are they major or minor to the professional development of a woman educator? Can they be ignored? Would hard work and loyal service not be recognized on their own merit? Where *does* the blame lie? Is discrimination real or fancied? How does one know it exists? What can be done about it?

### WHAT ARE THE PATTERNS?

Evolving from the aggregate experience of many administrative women is recognition that most school systems are unable to distinguish between women who wish to make teaching their final goal and those who prepare themselves for administration and who seek the challenge of wider responsibilities. For this latter group, it is the system that is failing in its duty of leadership development, not women. The reasons are inherent in the system.

Generally, out-dated institutionalized arrangements, often irrelevant to modern life, continue to thrive because they serve the traditions of the organization or they support the need of current leaders. Renewed attention has not been given to the purposes of the institution or to the students who must prepare for the reality of the future. Contrary to the idea of equality or democracy, the artificial divisions of labor often fail to serve the present needs or best interests of students and female employees. The patterns demonstrate an acceptance of second-class citizenship for female educators and all girls coming through the system. With no room at the top, female students and employees quickly recognize the signals—and the ambition and aspirations of thousands of individuals are quietly and permanently depressed.

### WOMEN WHO PREPARE

What does happen to women within the system who prepare themselves, have talent, and have the desire to attain top positions? What happens that prevents them from attaining the rewards of their labors? What are the pressures which limit and restrict their advancement?

A social system has powerful means of molding and socializing its employees to accept the decisions of the policy-makers. If policy-makers agree that it is "natural" for men to occupy the important positions, they develop a rationale to justify their stance—men have families to support; women are too emotional; boys need father-figures. An unwritten policy develops.

Through such organizational power personality traits can be conditioned to provide proof that women are unsuited for certain jobs. The following example is illustrative of a common dilemma of many potentially successful women administrators.——

A woman is seeking advancement. If she is passive and pleasant it is said she does not have the dynamic thrust necessary for leadership. If she is assertive and persistent in eliciting the best from a staff it is said she is too demanding and hard on employees. Either way, she is criticized.

If this helpful guidance continues long enough, those in charge of making decisions can truthfully agree that the women in their organization do not seem self-confident and that they appear to lack the qualities leaders must exhibit.

An interesting phenomenon is revealed in close examination of most educational settings. What should be recognized as myths about women educators have, in some cases, become self-fulfilling prophesies because it is the educational system itself which has the prerogative of determining policy, conditions and judgments.

Within the system a woman educator is constantly subject to hidden factors beyond her control. One of the most decisive, and one over which she can exert little influence is the general opinion of women held by superiors to whom she must report and whom she must convince that she merits advancement. If she is dealing with a male employer who believes a woman's prime duty is to serve man, she might well find that her industry and her ability will be unrecognized. Moreover, if the unwritten policies and the personal judgments of superiors coincide in the belief that men are the natural leaders, the woman educator has little chance to extend her professional development, irrespective of her success in her space of responsibility.

The female educator is not viewed as a professional—as an individual capable of arranging or adjusting her personal or business affairs as required. Whether she is single, widowed, divorced, married and has grown children, or has an extremely flexible husband, the prospective employer generally seems more concerned with her personal life than with her professional achievements and potential. At every level of the advancement ladder, she is penalized by the personal attitudes of male employers.

Many administrators automatically eliminate women from promising positions because they assume they cannot travel or they cannot relocate their homes. Such denial of opportunity is damaging to a man or woman who is serious about building a reservoir of experience and professional know-how. Mobility in the early stages of one's career is often a prerequisite for gaining wide experience. Men who plan to advance are often mobile during their late 20's and 30's, relocating to take advantage of positions as principals or beginning superintendents. Women of this age, irrespective of degrees or experience, typically continue to be kept in the classroom, gaining maturity rather than experience.

Within the system women usually receive little encouragement to advance; if they seek a position in another system they are assumed to be too youthful and inexperienced. Mobility and increased experience thus are denied a woman at a crucial stage of her professional career.

### SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECIES

The self-fulfilling prophesy that career woman are hesitant about relocating is often a side effect of their limited mobility. Most professional persons tend to be either place-oriented or job-oriented. The job-oriented person feels secure; he can resign usually from a job which isn't satisfactory and take his established stock-in-trade to a more promising location. By securing a vote of confidence from his new employers, the seasoned mobile educator is able to move from one position to another so that he is surrounded by at least a few people who have an interest in his success and satisfaction.

On the other hand, a woman educator seldom has the chance to become the type of professional whose competence is established, widely recognized, and transferrable; she must build her security where she works and lives. Typically she develops a network of local friends and activities which enrich her professional and personal life. In contrast, men tend to form these associations after a period of mobility. Women who are forced to be more place-bound tend to form much earlier ties which provide a foundation for their sense of security. If, late in her career, a woman attains recognition and is offered a position away from home it is not surprising that she may prefer to pass up the option. Another prophesy is fulfilled!

The need for accommodation in special circumstances is not least among the established attitudes that block the flow of women to top positions. School systems are quick to recognize and to respond to the special needs of male employees, such as special consideration to meet military service requirements. Traditionally, women do not receive special consideration to meet the needs of child-bearing. It has been almost axiomatic that, in the case of child-bearing, the father has been congratulated and often received an increase in salary; the teaching mother has lost her position.

Women have begun to challenge this policy. They point out that men are not dismissed from their positions because of temporary disability and often are compensated for it in the form of financial benefits, sympathy, and assurances that the job is still there whenever they return. Boards of Education are being forced to change their policies on pregnancy. It is no longer acceptable to assume that parenthood for the man indicates his willingness to take added responsibility and at the same time to assume it demonstrates the woman is not serious about her profession.

### WOMEN WHO ATTAIN

The climate which surrounds the woman who is promoted is often much different than that which surrounds her male counterpart. The man is frequently introduced to his colleagues amid comments of confidence such as—"Fine administrator—great on the job—we are all behind you." This new appointee will probably attain success inasmuch as his superiors have informed all concerned that cooperation is expected of all employees to help the new man get off to a good start.

A newly appointed woman usually has to make her own way. Because her employers are doubtful about the ability of women in general, they seldom commit themselves in advance to her success. They hedge so that if she "doesn't work out" they will not have been caught in an error of judgment. They give the new appointee and those she must direct the impression that. "We will let her try and see how it goes." Under these circumstances, complaints are likely to arise. In a short time her superiors may decide ". . . it just doesn't work." Or, "Women just don't like to work for other women. Too bad. We tried." When a less responsible job opens they are ready to suggest that she would be happy with a change because the job has fewer problems. All too often a potentially capable woman administrator, shaken by a loss of confidence, agrees that her superiors may be right!

On the chance that the promising young man encounters dissent, what then? It is not unusual for the difficulty to be explained as an impossible situation and he is sometimes moved to a better paying position. By handling the situations involving men and women administrators a little differently, a school system reaffirms a typically sacred belief that men sem to work out better for important jobs than do women.

Subtle and elusive discrimination creates an injustice. The woman is forced to make a difficult personal decision. She may have to choose among three uninviting prospects: (1) accepting self-doubt and loss of confidence with its subsequent damage to her spirit; (2) allowing seeds of cynicism and disillusionment to grow within her personality; or (3) fighting a lonely battle which often separates her from friends and lowers, even more, her chance for success.

### PERVASIVE PATTERNS

The patterns of discrimination are pervasive and many women fall under their influence; they too become convinced that a job with real growth potential would be too demanding for them. Overlooked is the fact that many women teachers constantly formulate new projects for their students, assist in extra-curricular activities, and spend numerous evenings working with education committees. It is not surprising that some women are beginning to question why employers insist that higher paying jobs are "more demanding" and unsuitable for women.

In recent years the professional preparation of women educators has risen without a corresponding upgrading of their positions. The patterns of discrimination have become sharply apparent, affecting an increasingly large number of women in education. The National Education Association reports that although women in education are in ever-increasing numbers earning masters degrees and doctorates, almost 95 percent are employed as teachers, nurses, or librarians—not administrators.

The National Council of Administrative Women in Education proposes that the time is here to advance American education by enlivening the upper levels of the educational establishment with a new flow of qualified women into administrative and policy-making positions. Barring women from advancement is neither democratically healthy for school systems nor emotionally healthy for the person involved.

This report on patterns of discrimination as observed by women educators themselves merely notes the most obvious examples of discrimination. Further examination is needed of the reasons why there are so few women in administrative and policy-making positions in education.

*Only when all the facts are on the table can boards of education honestly answer the question: "Where are the women superintendents and where are the women department heads?"*

CHARLENE DALE,
*Chairman, NCAWE Committee on the Status of Women.*

TABLE [illegible]—ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FULL-TIME PUBLIC SCHOOL PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES, BY SEX, 1970–71

| Position | Number of staff | | | Percent of total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Men | Women | Total | Men | Women |
| Instructional staff: Teachers (fulltime) | 2, 034, 581 | 667, 751 | 1, 366, 830 | 100 | 32. 8 | 67. [illegible] |
| Principals: | | | | | | |
| Elementary | 47, 714 | 37, 673 | 10, 041 | 100 | 79. 0 | 21. 0 |
| Junior high | 8, 782 | 8, 472 | 310 | 100 | 96. 5 | 3. 5 |
| Senior high | 13, 763 | 13, 349 | 414 | 100 | 97. 0 | 3. 0 |
| Total, principals | 70, 259 | 59, 494 | 10, 765 | 100 | 84. 7 | 15. 3 |
| Assistant principals: | | | | | | |
| Elementary | 5, 119 | 3, 388 | 1, 731 | 100 | 66. 2 | 33. 8 |
| Junior high | 6, 777 | 6, 022 | 755 | 100 | 88. 9 | 11. 1 |
| Senior high | 11, 403 | 10, 383 | 1, 020 | 100 | 91. 1 | 8. 9 |
| Total, assistant principals | 23, 299 | 19, 793 | 3, 506 | 100 | 85. 0 | 15. 0 |
| Other instructional staff: | | | | | | |
| Head of department | 12, 478 | 8, 639 | 3, 839 | 100 | 69. 2 | 30. 8 |
| Librarian | 30, 757 | 2, 658 | 28, 099 | 100 | 8. 6 | 91. 4 |
| Counselor | 39, 348 | 20, 897 | 18, 451 | 100 | 53. 1 | 46. 9 |
| Social worker and visiting teacher | 6, 002 | 1, 051 | 4, 951 | 100 | 17. 5 | 82. 5 |
| Psychologist/psychometrist | 3, 980 | 1, 827 | 2, 153 | 100 | 45. 9 | 54. 1 |
| School nurse | 15, 639 | 126 | 15, 513 | 100 | . 8 | 99. 2 |
| Other (position not stated) | 563 | 235 | 328 | 100 | 41. 7 | 58. 3 |
| Total, other instructional staff | 108, 767 | 35, 433 | 73, 334 | 100 | 32. 6 | 67. 4 |
| Total, instructional staff | 2, 236, 906 | 782, 471 | 1, 454, 435 | 100 | 35. 0 | 65. 0 |
| Central office administrators: | | | | | | |
| Superintendents | 14, 379 | 14, 289 | 90 | 100 | 99. 4 | . 6 |
| Deputy or associate superintendants | 731 | 676 | 55 | 100 | 92. 5 | 7. 5 |
| Assistant superintendent | 4, 402 | 4, 276 | 126 | 100 | 97. 1 | 2. 9 |
| Administrative assistant to superintendent | 2, 345 | 1, 989 | 356 | 100 | 84. 8 | 15. 2 |
| Administrator for: | | | | | | |
| General administration | 10, 414 | 5, 398 | 5, 016 | 100 | 51. 8 | 48. 2 |
| Finance and school plant | 6, 980 | 6, 390 | 590 | 100 | 91. 5 | 8. 5 |
| Pupil personnel services | 7, 510 | 4, 636 | 2, 874 | 100 | 61. 7 | 38. 3 |
| Instruction—administration and supervision | 10, 881 | 5, 846 | 5, 035 | 100 | 53. 7 | 46. 3 |
| Special subject areas | 7, 664 | 4, 891 | 2, 773 | 100 | 63. 8 | 36. 2 |
| Total, central office administrators | 65, 306 | 48, 391 | 16, 915 | 100 | 74. 1 | 25. 9 |
| Total, all professional employees | 2, 302, 212 | 830, 362 | 1, 471, 350 | 100 | 36. 1 | 63. 9 |

Source: NEA Research Bulletin, vol. 49, No. 3—October 1971.

TABLE 2.—DISTRIBUTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS HELD BY MEN AND WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF 30 STATES

| 30 States | Superintendents | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | | | | County | | | | | | | |
| | State superintendent | | Deputy associate assistant | | County district regional | | Deputy associate assistant | | City village town | | Deputy associate assistant | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Alabama | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 66 | 1 | 46 | 0 | 60 | 0 | 34 | 0 |
| Alaska | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 38 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| California | 1 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 57 | 1 | 102 | 10 | 243 | 0 | 334 | 4 |
| Colorado | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 176 | 2 | 81 | 0 | | | | |
| Connecticut | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 119 | 0 | | |
| Delaware | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 26 | 0 | 17 | 0 | | | | |
| Georgia | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 187 | 4 | 71 | 0 | | | | |
| Idaho | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 100 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Illinois[1] | 1 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 119 | 10 | 79 | [illegible] | 1,034 | 62 | 16 | 5 |
| Kansas | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 311 | 0 | 56 | 0 | | | | |
| Kentucky | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 125 | 1 | 83 | 5 | 67 | 4 | 25 | 0 |
| Louisiana | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 66 | 0 | 55 | 2 | | | | |
| Michigan | 1 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 85 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 44 | 1 | | |
| Massachusetts | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 82 | 0 | 23 | 0 | 350 | 1 | 203 | 9 |
| Missi sippi | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 117 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 53 | 0 | | |
| Montana | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 49 | 0 | 0 | 176 | 0 | | |
| Nebraska | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 56 | 37 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 29 | 0 |
| Nevada | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 13 | 0 | | | | |
| New Hampshire[2] | 1 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 42 | 0 | 35 | 2 | | | | |
| New Mexico | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 89 | 0 | 28 | 0 | | | | |
| New York | 1 | 0 | | | 69 | 9 | | | 287 | 0 | (1) | (1) |
| North Dakota | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 13 | 40 | | | | | | |
| Ohio | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 144 | 0 | 25 | 1 | 624 | 0 | 291 | 0 |
| Oklahoma | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 59 | 11 | 2 | 34 | 596 | 21 | 39 | 1 |
| Pennsylvania | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 29 | 0 | 58 | 0 | 489 | 1 | | |
| South Dakota | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 180 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Vermont | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 51 | 1 | 25 | 3 | | | | |
| Virginia | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 96 | 0 | 97 | 0 | | | | |
| Washington | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 257 | 2 | 100 | 2 | 245 | 0 | 89 | 0 |
| Wyoming | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 56 | 1 | 14 | 0 | | | | |
| Total | 29 | 1 | 126 | 2 | 2,734 | 175 | 1,027 | 95 | 4,410 | 90 | 1,062 | 19 |
| Percent | 97 | 3 | 98 | 2 | 93.9 | 6.1 | 91.5 | 8.5 | 94 | 6 | 97.4 | 2.9 |

[2] (1970–71)
[3] Data not available.
[1] (68–69)

TABLE 2.—DISTRIBUTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS HELD BY MEN AND WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF 30 STATES—Continued

| 30 States | Superintendent |  |  |  |  |  | Principals |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | City |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | High |  | Elementary |  | Combined |  | High |  | Junior High Middle |  | Elementary |  | Total |  |
|  | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Alabama | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 155 | 0 | 90 | 1 | 191 | 80 | 643 | 82 |
| Alaska | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 34 | 1 | 23 | 0 | 181 | 30 | 298 | 31 |
| California | 109 | 0 | 437 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 991 | 12 | 533 | 23 | 4,665 | 702 | 7,480 | 756 |
| Colorado |  |  |  |  |  |  | 163 | 0 | 191 | 0 | 620 | 83 | 1,237 | 85 |
| Connecticut |  |  |  |  |  |  | 139 | 1 | 79 | 2 | 703 | 179 | 1,060 | 182 |
| Delaware |  |  |  |  |  |  | 31 | 1 | 39 | 0 | 112 | 18 | 229 | 19 |
| Georgia |  |  |  |  | 38 | 1 | 333 | 3 | 176 | 4 | 975 | 222 | 1,786 | 234 |
| Idaho |  |  |  |  |  |  | 115 | 0 | 70 | 0 | 245 | 31 | 542 | 32 |
| Illinois[1] | 121 | 0 |  |  |  |  | 635 | 18 | 334 | 5 | 1,930 | 629 | 4,285 | 765 |
| Kansas |  |  |  |  |  |  | 384 | 1 | 140 | 1 | 1,024 | 83 | 1,921 | 85 |
| Kentucky |  |  |  |  |  |  | 322 | 0 | 43 | 0 | 545 | 190 | 1,218 | 200 |
| Lousiana |  |  |  |  | 171 | 2 | 168 | 3 | 139 | 5 | 577 | 168 | 1,203 | 180 |
| Maine |  |  |  |  | 5 | 0 | 116 | 0 | 107 | 5 | 272 | 152 | 638 | 159 |
| Massachusetts |  |  |  |  |  |  | 297 | 10 | 276 | 4 | 1,280 | 585 | 2,514 | 609 |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  | 293 | 1 | 150 | 3 | 497 | 156 | 1,112 | 163 |
| Montana |  |  |  |  |  |  | 103 | 0 | 28 | 0 | 226 | 27 | 542 | 77 |
| Nebraska | 310 | 2 | 6 | 1 |  |  | 247 | 3 | 61 | 2 | 211 | 121 | 948 | 166 |
| Nevada |  |  |  |  |  |  | 63 | 0 |  |  | 119 | 5 | 219 | 5 |
| New Hampshire[2] |  |  |  |  |  |  | 67 | 0 | 28 | 0 | 218 | 42 | 397 | 46 |
| New Mexico |  |  |  |  |  |  | 181 | 0 | 89 | 1 | 336 | 38 | 725 | 39 |
| New York | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) |  |  |  |  |  |  | 357 | 9 |
| North Dakota |  |  |  |  |  |  | 232 | 6 | 16 | 0 | 182 | 66 | 447 | 112 |
| Ohio |  |  |  |  |  |  | 740 | 4 | 250 | 10 | 2,412 | 556 | 4,492 | 572 |
| Oklahoma |  |  |  |  |  |  | 463 | 4 | 208 | 2 | 737 | 93 | 2,109 | 165 |
| Pennsylvania |  |  | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) |  |  |  |  |  |  | 578 | 1 |
| South Dakota |  |  |  |  |  |  | 186 | 2 | 37 | 2 | 204 | 48 | 614 | 53 |
| Vermont |  |  |  |  |  |  | 65 | 1 |  |  | 63 | 14 | 207 | 19 |
| Virginia |  |  |  |  | 54 | 2 | 259 | 1 | 160 | 3 | 879 | 338 | 1,549 | 344 |
| Washington |  |  |  |  |  |  | 317 | 0 | 238 | 1 | 924 | 55 | 2,175 | 60 |
| Wyoming | 5 | 0 | 9 | 0 |  |  | 70 | 2 | 44 | 1 | 157 | 74 | 360 | 78 |
| Total | 546 | 2 | 452 | 6 | 278 | 5 | 7,189 | 74 | 3,549 | 75 | 20,485 | 4,785 | 41,885 | 5,329 |
| Percent | 97.8 | 2.2 | 98.5 | 1.5 | 98.1 | 1.9 | 98.9 | 1.1 | 97.9 | 2.1 | 80.6 | 19.4 | 88.7 | 11.3 |

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[1] 1968-69.
[2] 1970-71.
[3] Data not available.

TABLE 3.—DISTRIBUTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS HELD BY MEN AND WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF SELECTED LARGE CITY SCHOOL SYSTEMS

| Selected cities | Superintendents | | | | | | | | Principals | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | City | | Associate Deputy | | Subschool or assistance area | | community | | High | | Middle | | Elementary | | Total | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Atlanta | 1 | 0 | | | 10 | 0 | | | 25 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 66 | 63 | 105 | 63 |
| Boston | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 9 | 2 | | | 17 | 5 | 16 | 1 | 82 | 44 | 126 | 2 |
| Chicago | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 5 | 20 | 7 | 59 | 11 | 30 | 8 | 276 | 166 | 398 | 197 |
| Cincinnati | 1 | 0 | | | 4 | 0 | | | 10 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 55 | 19 | 85 | 19 |
| Cleveland | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | | | 16 | 1 | 24 | 4 | 41 | 93 | 86 | 98 |
| Denver | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 59 | 11 | 103 | 11 |
| Los Angeles | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 16 | 2 | | | 54 | 1 | 67 | 11 | 237 | 201 | 378 | 215 |
| New Orleans | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 1 | | | 13 | 3 | 15 | 5 | 40 | 56 | 76 | 65 |
| New York City | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | | | 23 | 8 | 102 | 9 | 99 | 24 | 619 | 189 | 847 | 230 |
| Omaha | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | | | | | 8 | 0 | 11 | 2 | 17 | 56 | 44 | 58 |
| Portland | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0 | | | 12 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 5 | 29 | 7 |
| San Diego | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | 14 | 1 | 17 | [illegible] | 104 | 22 | 143 | 24 |
| San Francisco | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 7 | 0 | | | 9 | 3 | 18 | 0 | 47 | 52 | 85 | 55 |
| Seattle | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | | | 12 | 0 | 18 | 1 | 74 | 11 | 110 | 12 |
| Total | 14 | 0 | 25 | 0 | 84 | 10 | 52 | 15 | 361 | 36 | 354 | 57 | 1,725 | 988 | 2,614 | 1,106 |
| Percentages | 100 | | 100 | | 89.5 | 10.5 | 77.6 | 22.4 | 90.9 | 9.1 | 86.1 | 13.9 | 63.5 | 36.5 | 70.2 | 29.8 |

# SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Terry N. Saario, *the Ford Foundation* Carol Nagy Jacklin, *Stanford University*
Carol Kehr Tittle, *City University of New York*)

The authors investigate sex role stereotyping in three major areas: elementary school basal readers, educational achievement tests, and differential curricular requirements for males and females. The section on basal readers documents the extent and kind of sex role stereotyping in the kindergarten to third grade textbooks of four major publishers. The section on educational testing raises the issue of sex bias in item content and language usage and shows the presence of sex role stereotyping in test batteries from major test publishing companies. The curriculum section discusses the presence and ramifications of different curriculum patterns for males and females.

> If the children and youth of a nation are afforded opportunity to develop their capacities to the fullest, if they are given the knowledge to understand the world and the wisdom to change it, then the prospects for the future are bright. In contrast, a society which neglects its children, however well it may function in other respects, risks eventual disorganization and demise.
>
> (Bronfenbrenner, 1970, p. 3)

The concern of one generation in a society for the next has been variously described and labeled by historians, psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists. Such concern is a constant in all societies, and is frequently called socialization. Socialization is the process of preparing children to assume adult statuses and roles. The family, the school, the church, peer groups, economic institutions, political institutions, and the media would be identified by most thoughtful people as the principal socializing institutions in our society. Of these institutions only the school has the socialization of youth as a principal function. Schools, whether formal or informal, whether inner city or rural, function as transmitters of certain societal norms and mores from one generation to the next.

It is our argument that schools not only socialize children in a general way but also exert a powerful and limiting influence on the development of sex roles. Instead of encouraging diversity within broad limits of conduct, they define specific attitudes, modes of acting, and opportunities which are appropriate for boys and girls. This serves to limit the choices open to each sex and contributes to a sense of inadequacy when individuals do not live up to the stringently defined norm or average. We acknowledge that a child's gender awareness and self-identification is critical to her or his development. However, it is reasonable to question the utility of inculcating within our children "fixed patterns of behaviors defined along traditional sex-role lines" (Emmerich, 1972, p. 7). Traditional sex role categories are simply conventions which hold significance in the social order of the day.

Educational reformers and critics in the last decade have heightened our awareness of the symbolism and hidden messages inherent in the structure of the school. They have shown us how schools function as sorting and classifying mechanisms and how schools foster and amplify such questionable personality traits as passivity, conformity, and dependency. Schools usually function in these ways *sub rosa*. Obviously, most students learn much more than reading, writing, and arithmetic. The content of the school or classroom may include curriculum materials, testing materials, and programmatically prescribed curricular patterns—which are the focus of this article—as well as teacher behavior, counseling practices, peer group influences, and many other instructional factors. All these factors convey multiple messages to children.

It is in these many ways that schools and their content carry hidden messages to the young about sex role mythologies in our society. The very structure of the school portrays males and females in somewhat idealized, rigid, and non-overlapping roles. As many developmental psychologists have noted, role models do contribute to the definition of the limits or boundaries of a child's self-expectations (Mischel, 1970). These limits may be set very early in life (Mead, 1971; Kagan, 1969; Levy, 1972). And yet, as Betty Levy (1972, p. 5) and others have noted, "as children grow older their awareness of 'appropriate' sex role behavior increases and becomes more restricted and stereotyped." Looft (1971), for example, asked a sample of six to eight-year-old children what they wanted to be when they grew up. He found a striking contrast between the variability of the boys' responses and the unanimity of the girls'. Seventy-five per cent of all the girls' responses in this age group were in two categories—teacher and nurse. The two most popular categories for boys—football player and fireman—were selected by less than ten per cent of the boys. In all, eighteen potential occupational categories were elicited from the males in the sample, eight from the girls. Differential socialization could account for these results.

There is increasing reason to believe that agents outside the home are important as differential socializers. Developmental theory, for example, points to the influence of the environment, including the family, in the rate and mode of children's development. Evidence of differential treatment of the sexes has not been well documented before the age of six (see Maccoby, 1972, for a review); but the research literature in this area is not ample. Perhaps acts of parents subtler than the looks, smiles, touches, and amount-talked-to counted by developmental psychologists are the important variables. Subtle expectations or punishments and sanctions against inappropriate sex-stereotyped behaviors may be the real differential socializers that parents are consciously or unconsciously using.

Although home influences certainly contribute to the sex role modeling which is prevalent in our society, we feel other influences such as schooling are important determinants to be considered. Research to date into the nature and origins of sex role stereotyping in schools has been limited and scattered at best. In undertaking the present studies, we sought to focus our research on some concrete aspects of schooling where stereotyping was blatantly fostered, and where changes in policy could be effected in relatively short order. Certainly hidden curriculum aspects of classroom interactions contribute to the images children have of themselves; and yet this area is so vague and undefined that mere documentation of the effects would not serve to change educational policy. The hidden curriculum exerts influence despite policy. Sex role stereotyping pervades every aspect of education and gradually it must be documented and rooted out of each area. For the moment, however, we have chosen to investigate its presence in elementary basal readers, to describe the sex bias in educational achievement tests, and to discuss some of the curricular requirements which are differentially imposed on male and female students throughout primary and secondary education.

We focus on elementary readers because a child's first contact with school is likely to leave a lasting impact. Since learning to read is the principal task of the early years at school, the content of the books with which children spend so much time merits investigation. Similarly, the study of sex bias in the content of achievement tests is important because the child so frequently encounters them during the school years. Finally, differential curriculum requirements for girls and boys automatically limit the choices each can make while they are in school and in later life.

We outline the research and findings in each of these three areas, and conclude with some recommendations for policy and research which begin to point the way to a less restricted system of education.

## SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IN EARLY READERS

Much of the content of the school day in the first few grades is focused upon learning to read and write. Whether the child is taught in an open classroom or a traditional one, at some point the child encounters reading textbooks. These readers sustain an image of authority merely by being textbooks (California Advisory Commission, 1971; Child, Potter, and Levine, 1946). Unlike the substance of the textbooks a students encounters in later grades, the substance of early readers is not usually assumed to be central to the teaching and learning activity. The child is being taught to read, not to remember the intricacies of the story of Jack and Jill falling down the hill. Hence, we usually assume the content of the stories in the early readers is innocuous. But is it really? Do children learn something beyond how to read when they encounter these basal readers?

One of the first studies which examined this question of stereotyping in reading textbooks was the Child, Potter, and Levine (1946) content analysis of portions of third grade readers. They assumed, as have many researchers since, that principles of reinforcement and avoidance learning are operative as a child reads. "It is assumed that in reading a story a child goes through symbolically, or rehearses to himself, the episode that is described. The same principles, then, are expected to govern the effect of the reading on him as would govern the effect of actually going through such an incident in real life" (p. 3). Given these assumptions, they examined the role third grade readers would play in determining what motives children develop, how they learn to satisfy these motives, and what expectations they develop about the consequences of trying to satisfy these motives in various ways.

Their unit of analysis was the major theme of the reader. A theme was defined as a recurrent pattern of events including the situation confronting a person, the behaviors with which the person responded, and the consequences of that behavior to that person. They found striking differentiation of roles by sex in their sample of readers. Female characters more often showed affiliation, nurturance, and harm-avoidance, and were the ones nurtured. Males more often provided information, showed activity, aggression, achievement, construction, and behavior directed at gaining recognition. The general absence of females in these readers was as prominent as any differences in behavior: seventy-three per cent of all central characters were male, only twenty-seven per cent female.

Zimet (1970) studied primers spanning the period from 1600 to 1966 to determine whether boys and girls had always been portrayed as engaging in the undifferentiated activities found in modern readers. She found that diffusion or ambiguity of sex role models had increased over the period studied. However, "diffusion" was not clearly defined or quantified. A N.O.W. task force, Women on Words and Images (1972), reviewed 134 readers from fourteen publishers. Each story was categorized in terms of its hero or heroine by sex (male or female), age (adult or child), and whether it was a biography or fantasy story.

In 1972, Blom, Waite, Zimet, and Edge examined the activities portrayed in the first grade readers in twelve frequently used textbook series. They classified the activities according to: (a) age of the child to which the activity would appeal (six, older, or younger); (b) sex of the child to which the activity would appeal (as determined by agreement of the researchers); and (c) the outcome of the activity in terms of success or failure. They found that masculine activities in these stories ended in failure more often than did feminine activities. (A caveat should be inserted here. These stories seem to have contained some ambiguity about the relationship between sex roles and activities, since forty-six per cent of all activities were performed by both boys and girls while only twenty-six per cent were performed by boys alone and only twenty-eight per cent by girls alone.)

When U'Ren (1971) studied textbooks recommended by the California State Board of Education she found seventy-five per cent of the main characters in these stories were male with less than twenty per cent of story space devoted to females. Many stories with male main characters presented no females at all, but female centered stories usually included males. Stories about girls were usually shorter than stories about boys. In another recent study, Graebner (1972) tried to determine whether the role of women has changed in elementary texts over the last decade. Five hundred and fifty-four stories were analyzed using texts from Scott, Foresman, 1962–63 and 1971, and Ginn, 1961 and 1969. She conclude that almost no change in the portrayal of the role of women has occurred and that texts "have not kept pace with a changing society" (p. 52).

In an analysis of a series of social studies books and readers produced by ten publishing houses, De Crow (1972) found no women portrayed as working outside the home except as a teacher or nurse. Those who were teachers and nurses were all labeled "Miss," perhaps implying that no married women work. Men were more often depicted as making decisions, including household decisions. Boys showed initiative, were creative, and did things while girls were fearful, dependent, and watched other people doing things. Friendships between boys, and between girls and boys, were frequently displayed, but friendships between girls were quite rare.

Potter (1972) has described the effect of books as symbolic models much as Child, Potter, and Levine did in justifying their content analysis. She argues that sequences of behavior which are punished or rewarded in stories should be vicariously rewarding and punishing to the reader. This effect is expected to vary with the ease the child has in identifying with a specific character, a phenomenon which may be partially dependent on such variables as age and sex.

These studies strongly suggest pervasive sex role stereotyping in early readers. But all are generally limited in that they seldom provide reliability data on categories used in content analysis, and they provide only descriptive statistics. While most of the studies agree that textbooks do portray stereotypic sex role models for children, few specify the types of stereotyping that occur.

Carol Jacklin and her associates (1972) undertook the present study to provide some information on the magnitude, direction, and type of stereotyping present in early basal readers.[1] If stereotyping does exist in these readers, they also wanted to find out whether it changed from one grade level to the next, from kindergarten to third grade, and whether publishers differ very much in the amount or kind of sex role stereotyping which occurs in their texts. Answers to these questions would be a basis for estimating the role early readers play in constricting and reinforcing the behavior patterns and psychological characteristics a child associates with particular sex roles.

Four elementary reading textbook series were chosen for analysis. Those published by Ginn, Harper and Row (the California state approved series), and Scott, Foresman were chosen because of their widespread use. The Bank Street series was included because of its reputation for innovation. A complete list of specific texts analyzed can be obtained from the authors.

A systematic sample of every third story in the selected books was examined.[2] The total number of stories analyzed, by publisher, were: Bank Street, sixty-one; Ginn, sixty-nine; Harper & Row, sixty-three; and Scott, Foresman, seventy-seven.

Publisher, grade level, book and story title were recorded. Each character in each story, classified by age and sex, was coded on five additional categories: a) occurrence as main character; b) occurrence in specific environments; c) occurrence as exhibiting specific behaviors; d) occurrenceas bearers of specific consequences; e) occurrence as recipients of specific behaviors and consequences. Stories were analyzed person by person, i.e., the environments, behaviors, and consequences related to a given character were scored for the entire story before the next character was begun. The actual taxonomy of attributes and categories employed in the procedure is presented below, with selected examples.

1. **Main and secondary characters**
2. **Type of environment:**
    - **Home**
    - **Outdoors**
    - **Place of business**
    - **School**
3. **Behavior exhibited:**
    - **Nurturant (helping, praising, serving)**
    - **Aggressive (hitting, kicking, verbal put-downs)**
    - **Self-care (dressing, washing)**
    - **Routine-repetitive (eating, going to school)**
    - **Constructive-productive (building, writing story, planning party)**
    - **Physically exertive (sports, lifting heavy objects)**
    - **Social-recreational (visiting someone, card games)**
    - **Fantasy activity (doll play, cowboys and Indians)**
    - **Directive (initiating, directing, demonstrating)**
    - **Avoidance (stop trying, run away, shut eyes)**
    - **Statement about self—positive, negative, neutral ("I have blue eyes," "I'm too stupid.")**
    - **Problem-solving (producing idea, unusual combinations)**
    - **Statements of information ("I know . . ."; non-evaluative observations about other people)**
    - **Expression of emotion (crying, laughing)**
    - **Conformity (express concern for rules, social norms, others' expectations, do as told)**
    - **General verbal (trivial motor behavior such as dropping something, looking for something, listening)**
4. **Types of consequences:**
    - ***Positive consequences—***
    - **From others—directed toward subject( praise, recognition, support, signs of affection)**

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[1] The Jacklin research was sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

[2] Individual stories were analyzed as titled and listed in the table of contents of each book. To limit the number of stories examined, every third story listed was analyzed. Poems were omitted, as were animal or fantasy stories without people. Stories with historical settings were included. In cases where a single plot was continuous throughout the entire book, the procedure of analyzing every third unit listed in the table of contents was maintained.

From self—self-praise, satisfaction
From situation—reaching goal, unintended positive results
Chance
Author's statement, text
*Negative consequences*—
From others—directed toward subject (criticism, correction, rejection of ideas)
From self
From situation—inability to reach goal, unintended negative results
Chance
Author's statement, text
*Neutral consequences*—not clearly positive or negative

In addition to the above, the agent and recipient of all consequences was noted. Changes in environment were recorded as they occurred. Data from individual stories at each grade level were collected separately for each publisher.

All scoring was performed by trained graduate students. Four potential sources of error in scoring existed: (a) classification of the person-type; (b) classification of the behavior; (c) classification of the consequences; and (d) classification of the environment. In order to assess inter-rater scoring reliability, eight stories were selected and each of the scorers was asked to score each of the stories, according to taxonomy presented above. The total number of behaviors, consequences, and environments was recorded for each person-type in each of the eight stories, Pearson product moment correlation coefficients were computed among scorers on the total number of counts in each of these categories. Correlation coefficients for behaviors and consequences ranged from .953 to 1.00 with seventy-five per cent of the correlations greater than .98. There was perfect agreement between scorers for the environment categories.

## RESULTS

Combining data across all publishers and grade levels (first through third), fewer female than male characters appeared in these stories. A breakdown of the total number of characters by person-type in the sampled stories is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—TOTAL NUMBER OF CHARACTERS IN THE SAMPLED STORIES DISPLAYED BY PERSON-TYPE

| | Child | Adult | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Female | 241 | 124 | 365 |
| Male | 324 | 256 | 580 |
| Total | 565 | 380 | 945 |

Because female characters occurred less frequently than males, comparisons of total frequencies within each category would reflect this difference. To avoid such a misrepresentation, proportional comparisons were made within each category (i.e., behaviors, environments, and consequences), and chi-square tests of significance for differences in proportions were computed. Thus, taking into account the smaller total number of adult female characters, female adults are still significantly under-represented as main characters (see Table 2).

TABLE 2.—NUMBER OF MAIN CHARACTERS BY AGE AND SEX

| | Female | Male |
|---|---|---|
| Adults:[1] | | |
| Number main characters | 7 | 33 |
| Total number in stories | 124 | 256 |
| Children:[2] | | |
| Number main characters | 61 | 110 |
| Total number in stories | 241 | 324 |

[1] Chi square=3.95; df=1, p .05.
[2] Chi square=3.49; df=1, p. 05.

The behaviors, environments, and consequences associated with each person-type are presented in Tables 3, 4, and 5. Although only significant findings are discussed in the text, the results for all categories of behaviors, environments, and consequences are presented. In this way, each reader can examine the results from her or his own point of view.

The data are organized according to the frequency of each category by person-type, and the percentage of each category of the total counts for that attribute for each person-type. Two chi-square statistics were computed for each category. The first compared child female vs. child male proportions for each category. The second comparison was adult female vs. adult male proportions for each category.

As shown in Table 3, boys were portrayed as demonstrating significantly higher amounts of aggression, physical exertion, and problem-solving. Girls were significantly more often displayed as characters enveloped in fantasy, carrying out directive behaviors, and making (positive and negative) self-statements.

TABLE 3.—TYPES OF BEHAVIORS PERFORMED BY CHILDREN (C) AND ADULTS (A) OF EACH SEX (M/F) GIVEN IN FREQUENCIES AND IN PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL BEHAVIORS BY EACH AGE AND SEX

| Behaviors | Frenquencies and percentages | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CF | | CM | | AF | | AM | |
| | n=241 | Percent | n=324 | Percent | n=124 | Percent | n=256 | Percent |
| Nurturant | 101 | 6.3 | 169 | 6.1 | 109 | 14.3 | 156 | 11.9 3 |
| Aggressive | 19 | [1]1.2 | 90 | 3.3 | 14 | 1.8 | 26 | 1. |
| Routine-repetitive | 131 | 8.2 | 261 | 9.5 | 94 | 12.3 | 153 | 11.1 |
| Constructive-productive | 21 | 1.3 | 56 | 2.0 | 2 | [1]0.3 | 60 | 4.4 |
| Physically exertive | 60 | [1]3.7 | 195 | 7.1 | 5 | [1]0.7 | 68 | 4.9 |
| Fantasy | 39 | [1]2.4 | 30 | 1.1 | 5 | 0.7 | 14 | 1.0 |
| Directive | 221 | 13.8 | 282 | 10.2 | 156 | 20.5 | 212 | 15.4 |
| Statements about self, positive | [1]53 | 3.3 | 46 | 1.7 | 11 | 1.4 | 12 | 0.9 |
| Statements about self, negative | 8 | [2].5 | 2 | .1 | 2 | .3 | 5 | .4 |
| Statements about self, neutral | 50 | 3.1 | 64 | 2.3 | 15 | 2.0 | 23 | 1.7 |
| Problem solving | 39 | [1]2.4 | 118 | 4.3 | 12 | [1]1.6 | 65 | 4.7 |
| Statements of information | 203 | 12.7 | 372 | 13.5 | 99 | 13.0 | 73 | 12.5 |
| Expression of emotion | 94 | 5.9 | 153 | 5.6 | 36 | 4.7 | 85 | 6.2 |
| Conformity | 121 | 7.5 | 170 | 6.2 | 21 | [2]2.8 | 17 | 1.2 |
| Watching | 61 | 3.8 | 111 | 4.0 | 15 | 2.0 | 37 | 2.7 |
| Other verbal | 224 | 14.0 | 389 | 14.1 | 131 | [2]17.2 | 186 | 13.5 |
| Total: | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency | 1,604 | | 2,753 | | 763 | | 1,830 | |
| Percentage | | 90.1 | | 91.1 | | 95.6 | | 93.8 |

[1] = p<.001.
[2] = p<.05.

Note: The percentages do not add to 100 percent because of the 3 omitted behaviors. Self-care, aviodance, social-recreational activities, expression of emotion, and the miscellaneous categories mentioned in the taxonomy were omitted due to their infrequent occurrence.

Adult males were shown in significantly higher proportions of constructive-productive behavior, physically exertive behavior, and problem-solving behavior. Adult females were shown in significantly higher proportions of conformity behavior and verbal behavior other than statements about themselves.

In examining the data of Table 4, we find no significant sex differences in the environment categories in which children appear. However, there are significant sex differences for *every* environment category for adults. Adult males were found significantly more frequently outdoors or in business. Women were portrayed significantly more frequently in the home and in the school.

TABLE 4.—TYPES OF ENVIRONMENTS IN WHICH CHILDREN (C) AND ADULTS (A) OF EACH SEX (M/F), ARE SHOWN GIVEN IN FREQUENCIES AND IN PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL ENVIRONMENTS SHOWN BY EACH AGE AND SEX

| | Frequencies and percentages | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CF | | CM | | AF | | AM | |
| Environment | n=241 | Percent | n=324 | Percent | n=124 | Percent | n=256 | Percent |
| Home | 97 | 34.2 | 111 | 29.0 | [1] 83 | 54.6 | 59 | 23.6 |
| Outdoors | 157 | 55.2 | 234 | 61.1 | [1] 47 | 30.9 | 144 | 57.6 |
| Business | 15 | 5.3 | 16 | 4.2 | [1] 8 | 5.3 | 40 | 16.0 |
| School | 15 | 5.3 | 22 | 5.7 | [1] 14 | 9.2 | 7 | 2.8 |
| Total | 284 | 100 | 383 | 100 | 152 | 100 | 250 | 100 |

[1] $p < .001$.

Table 5 presents the consequences experienced by each person-type. Young females were significantly more often shown as the recipients of positive consequences coming from a situation, and young males were significantly more often the recipients of positive consequences from their own action. Adult males were more frequently shown as the recipients of positive consequences coming from others and were shown as experiencing significantly more self-delivered negative consequences. In contrast, women more frequently experienced neutral consequences of acts.

In examining differences across grades, the total number of female characters declined sharply from the primers through the third grade readers. An analysis of the stories revealed two factors which contributed to this decline: a decrease of child females and an increase of adult males. One also finds an increase (with each grade level) in the number of significant sex differences between males and females for both child and adult behaviors, consequences, and environments. The stereotypic portrayal of male and female roles (both child and adult) increased with grade level.

TABLE 5.—TYPES OF CONSEQUENCES FOR CHILDREN (C) AND ADULTS (A) OF EACH SEX (M/F) GIVEN IN FREQUENCIES AND IN PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL CONSEQUENCES FOR EACH AGE AND SEX

| | Frequency and percentages | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CF | | CM | | AF | | AM | |
| Consequences | n=241 | Percent | n=324 | Percent | n=124 | Percent | n=256 | Percent |
| Positive-other | 115 | 16.0 | 230 | 17.1 | 27 | [1] 8.3 | 94 | 14.1 |
| Positive-self | 17 | [1] 2.4 | 57 | 4.2 | 6 | 1.8 | 14 | 2.1 |
| Positive-situation | 336 | [2] 46.6 | 488 | 36.3 | 173 | 53.1 | 328 | 49.3 |
| Positive-author | 4 | .6 | 14 | 1.0 | 1 | .3 | 7 | 1.1 |
| Neutral | 87 | 12.0 | 197 | 14.6 | 57 | 12.5 | 70 | 10.5 |
| Negative-other | 73 | 10.1 | 153 | 11.4 | 30 | 9.2 | 39 | 5.9 |
| Negative-self | 4 | .6 | 16 | 1.2 | 0 | [1] 0 | 12 | 1.8 |
| Negative-situation | 84 | 11.7 | 180 | 13.4 | 32 | 9.8 | 95 | 14.3 |
| Total | 721 | 98.7 | 1,346 | 98.3 | 326 | 98.5 | 666 | 99.1 |

[1] $p<0.05$.
[2] $p<0.001$.

There were also significant differences in the way the sexes were portrayed in each publisher's series. Not one of the series was egalitarian in its presentation of the sexes, that is, not one presented either adult males or females or male and female children as more *alike* than different in behavior characteristics, personality traits, and expected behaviors. Harper and Row, among the texts examined, presented the fewest number of total sex differences among children and adults. Scott, Foresman and Bank Street had the greatest differentiation in the presentation of adult characters. Conversely, Ginn portrayed children more stereotypically in their series. The pattern of each publisher is similar to the general pattern across grades. In each case, incidence of child females in the stories declines from grades K through three and incidence of adult males in the stories increase from grades K through three. Also, a number of adult females stays uniformly low, and number of child males stays uniformly high.

It may be argued that the authors and publishers of these books are simply mirroring the real world and that they should not be expected to provide a false picture of equality. But reality belies such an assertion. Children encounter women far more frequently than the average reading textbook would suggest. Even more to the point, children encounter women in many occupational roles and activities. As the 1973 *Economic Report of the President* noted, "One of the most important changes in the American economy in this century has been the increase in the proportion of women who work outside the home" (p. 89). Women constitute approximately thirty-eight per cent of the labor force and are distributed across a wide variety of occupational statuses. What is presented in the texts reviewed is an *idealized* view of society with the breadth and diversity of human endeavors eliminated.

Thus, it appears that these texts do not mirror the reality experienced by large groups of children: urban children, ghetto children, children with working mothers, children of divorced parents. Since we cannot depict for children what their lives will be, especially as we witness the rapid changes our society and culture are undergoing, the critical question becomes: What are we doing to children's aspirations when a sterile and unrealistic world is portrayed in the books that they read?

Although it is true that women today have fewer roles and opportunities than men and engage in more limited behaviors in more restricted settings, what are the consequences of portraying this state of affairs in elementary texts? Since textbooks reach a child at an early and impressionable age, children may attempt to perpetuate the stereotypes which the textbooks portray. The pervasiveness of sex role stereotyping in basal readers has been documented in this article. Future research efforts should explore in greater depth the relationship between such literary stereotypes and the development of sex roles.

In passing, it should be noted that many other stereotypes exist in these texts. The real world is more varied than the one depicted in elementary readers. Boys and girls, and men and women, are fat and skinny, short and tall. Boys and men are sometimes gentle, sometimes dreamers. Artists, doctors, lawyers, and college professors are sometimes mothers as well. Rather than limiting possibilities, elementary texts should seek to maximize individual development and self-esteem by displaying a wide range of models and activities. If the average is the only model presented to a child and therefore assumed to be the child's goal, most children—and most adults—would probably be unable to match the model.

### SEX BIAS IN EDUCATIONAL TESTING

Soon after children enter school they encounter a barrage of testing which is likely to continue throughout their school careers. Educators use tests for diagnosis and prescription in classrooms and for assessment and normative placement purposes as they sort, select, and classify students. Test data and comparative performance information are recorded on permanent cards which are transferred to each school a child attends. The child's placement on a variety of instruments is then noted by counselors as they advise the child about her or his future potential. Teachers also view the scores and often sort students into learning groups accordingly.

The wide usage of test data has been documented by a number of sources (Holmen & Docter, 1972; College Entrance Examination Board, 1970; Educational Testing Service, 1968). Holmen and Docter noted, for example, that approximately two hundred million achievement test forms and answer sheets are used annually in the United States alone. Moreover, there is evidence that students, teachers, and parents believe in the accuracy of intelligence test results (Brim *et al.*, 1969; Kirkland, 1971) and in the results of standardized achievement tests, and act upon them (Goslin, 1967). Tests are most widely used to assess educational achievement in the schools: Holmen and Docter point out that sixty-five per cent of all educational tests are achievement tests, while five per cent are used for counseling and guidance, and thirty per cent are used for selection and placement purposes. No one until now has systematically reviewed educational achievement tests to determine whether these tests contribute to the stereotyping of male and female roles. Are tests structured so as to reinforce existing stereotypic notions of male and female academic performance? Are the items selected to favor individuals who have encountered specific academic subjects (i.e., mathematics, science, home economics)? And do the items connote preference for males or females in their content or in the pronouns which dominate the content?

Carol Tittle and her associates (1973) noted this absence in the field and undertook a study [3] to examine two aspects of potential sex discrimination in achievement tests: sex bias in language usage (see Gunderson, 1972) and sex role stereotyping in item content. The goal of their study was to examine aspects of test content for potential sex bias; their study did not deal with bias in the uses of test results.

Several writers have recently noted the general male orientation of the English language, and what appears to be sex-typed usage of language. Strainchamps (1971) and Key (1971) have discussed the stereotyped characterization of English as masculine. Key outlined some of the preliminary work in language research which reported differing male and female usage of language, and several studies have examined classroom transcripts of four female and four male social studies teachers (Barron, 1971: Barron & Marlin, 1972; and Barron, Loflin, & Biddle, 1972). These latter studies begin to suggest the type of linguistic analysis which may be required to understand more fully the relationship between attributes of language, language usage, and the continuation of prejudice against women. Thus, bias in testing could arise in selecting item content (i.e., items drawn from chemistry or home economics), bias could be mainly a function of language use (i.e., word choice such as generic pronouns) and not subject to change by the test publisher, or bias could result from a combination of selection and usage. A large ratio of male to female references, for example, could result primarily from the use of generic nouns and pronouns, and would be less susceptible to change than if bias had resulted from content selection.

While a series of studies which have examined stereotyping in children's books and textbooks are available (Key, 1971; Frasher & Walker, 1972; and Grambs, 1972; as well as Jacklin's study described in the previous section), not one study has systematically reviewed the educational measurement literature and analyzed educational and occupational achievement tests for sex role stereotyping. Tittle's study included an exploratory survey of several aspects of educational testing, with a view toward identifying stereotypic presentations of women. It provides an important sequel to Jacklin's work.

The data examined in this study consist of test batteries fro meach of the major test publishing companies.[4] The procedures and recording forms for data collection were developed and pretested by two graduate students specializing in educational measurement.[5] The recorders first tabulated language usage defined as the ratio of male nouns and pronouns to female nouns and pronouns. A ratio close to 1.00 would indicate an equal use of male and female nouns and pronouns. A ratio above 1.00 would indicate that males were referred to more frequently than females, and in this sense would be indicative of biased content.

Two sets of analyses were performed to determine whether bias resulted from content selection or from the nature of the English language. The first analysis was designed to examine each subtest in each test battery. Generic nouns and pronouns were tallied. Ratios of male to female nouns and pronouns were then compared to determine whether language usage or content was sexually biased. One set which is based on all nouns and pronouns, including generic ones ,is labeled *All*. A second set, labeled *Regular*, excludes the generic nouns and pronouns and counts only those nouns and pronouns which refer specifically to males and females. If the ratio of males to females is greater than 1.00 for the *Regular* ratios as well as for the *All* ratios, then it can be concluded that the bias is largely a function of content selection and is therefore readily subject to change.

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[3] This research was sponsored by the Ford Foundation. In addition to discussing the research described here in more detail, Tittle *et al.* review literature on test bias and the use of vocational and occupational tests, and present an extensive annotated bibliography on women and testing.

[4] The tests analyzed include the California Achievement Tests, Iowa Test of Basic Skills, the Iowa Test of Educational Development, Metropolitan Achievement Tests, Sequential Tests of Educational Progress, SRA Achievement Series, Stanford Early School Achievement Test, and the Stanford Achievement Test.

[5] The graduate students were Karen McCarthy and Jane Stekler of the City University of New York.

Additionally, there are nouns which are not sex-designated in and of themselves, but are designated by a pronoun following them. Here, the test publisher can provide a balance in designating the sex as female in such contexts as "the doctor" or "the lawyer."

In the second analysis, recorders were asked to identify stereotypic content and list such instances on the same form used to record nouns and pronouns. General guidelines were given the recorders to suggest types of sex role stereotypes which might occur in test content. Do females appear in other than traditional jobs such as teachers and nurses? Are girls shown as active and independent? The question was whether educational achievement tests contain the same sex role stereotyping of women that is present in other educational materials. Stereotyped activities for women were identified: Mary helped her mother set the table. Women mentioned in a stereotyped profession were also listed: the teacher . . . Mrs. Jones; the secretary . . . Miss Ward. Items or descriptions which assign women to a secondary or helpless status were included as stereotypic: Bob was elected class president and Susan was elected secretary.

Two other categories listed as identifying stereotypic content were those which limited female occupational pursuits and references to activities which were distinctly male or female. It should be noted that the purpose of this aspect of the study was to produce examples of sex stereotypes and was not considered a formal content analysis.

### *Results*

Table 6 shows the ratio of male noun and pronoun referents to female noun and pronoun referents for the educational achievement test batteries analyzed. These total battery data were obtained by summing the male-female references for all the tests in the battery and computing the ratios for the total counts.

There are few differences between the conclusions which would be drawn by using the ratios based on *All* nouns and pronouns and those based only on *Regular* nouns and pronouns. As can be seen in the table, deleting the generic pronouns reduces only a few of the ratios. Thus, any bias which exists is primarily a function of the content of educational achievement tests rather than the nature of the language, and should be amenable to change by test developers and publishers.

TABLE 6.—RATIOS OF MALE NOUN AND PRONOUN (nM) REFERENTS TO FEMALE NOUN AND PRONOUN (nF) REFERENTS—EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT TEST BATTERIES

| Test | Total number of test items | Nouns and pronouns | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | All | | Regular | |
| | | nM/nF | Ratio | nM/nF | Ratio |
| Test A: | | | | | |
| Grade level 4 to 6 | 343 | 190/47 | 4.04 | 190/47 | 4.04 |
| Grade level 6 to 9 | 337 | 84/46 | 1.83 | 84/46 | 1.83 |
| Grade level 9 to 12 | 349 | 93/36 | 2.58 | 93/36 | 2.58 |
| Test B: Grade level 3 to 8 | 1,232 | 1,221/368 | 3.31 | 1,221/368 | 3.29 |
| Test C: Grade level 9 to 12 | 330 | 262/195 | 1.34 | 219/195 | 1.12 |
| Test D: | | | | | |
| Grade level 1.5 to 2.4 | 174 | 51/59 | .86 | 48/54 | .89 |
| Grade level 2.5 to 3.4 | 257 | 137/86 | 1.59 | 137/86 | 1.59 |
| Grade level 3.5 to 4.9 | 300 | 124/42 | 2.95 | 121/42 | 2.88 |
| Grade level 5.0 to 6.9 | 534 | 181/44 | 4.11 | 178/44 | 4.05 |
| Grade level 7.0 to 9.5 | 524 | 198/51 | 3.88 | 195/51 | 3.82 |
| Text E: | | | | | |
| Grade level 3 to 5 | 420 | 366/103 | 3.55 | 322/98 | 3.29 |
| Grade level 6 to 9 | 420 | 443/150 | 2.95 | 408/149 | 2.74 |
| Grade level 9 to 12 | 470 | 468/134 | 3.49 | 360/120 | 3.00 |
| Grade level 13 to 14 | 320 | 448/32 | 14.00 | 390/32 | 12.19 |
| Test F: | | | | | |
| Grade level 1 to 2 | 320 | 179/88 | 2.03 | 179/88 | 2.03 |
| Grade level 2 to 4 | 276 | 333/241 | 1.38 | 330/234 | 1.41 |
| Grade level 4 to 9 | 1,070 | 1,513/231 | 6.55 | 1,462/229 | 6.38 |
| Test G: | | | | | |
| Grade level K to 1 | 126 | 217/93 | 2.33 | 217/93 | 2.33 |
| Grade level 1 | 259 | 192/168 | 1.14 | 190/168 | 1.13 |
| Grade level 1.5 to 2.1: Form 1 | 251 | 134/53 | 2.52 | 123/51 | 2.41 |
| Grade level 1.5 to 2: Form 2 | 251 | 119/78 | 1.53 | 115/78 | 1.47 |
| Grade level 2 to 3: Form 1 | 409 | 209/89 | 2.34 | 192/87 | 2.20 |
| Grade level 2 to 3: Form 2 | 409 | 143/87 | 1.64 | 143/87 | 1.64 |
| Grade level 4 to 5 | 540 | 221/83 | 2.66 | 198/71 | 2.78 |
| Grade level 5 to 6 | 544 | 171/58 | 2.95 | 166/58 | 2.96 |
| Grade level 7 to 9 | 532 | 181/46 | 3.93 | 157/46 | 3.41 |
| Grade level 9 to 12 | 478 | 245/40 | 6.13 | 242/39 | 6.21 |

Each test battery, with one exception, showed a higher frequency of male nouns and pronouns. In Table 6 the distribution of *All* noun and pronouns ratios indicates that in all but eight of the twenty-seven batteries analyzed, the ratios of male to female are greater than 2.00. In one case, the ratio is as high as 14.00. There is a tendency for the test batteries developed for the early grade levels, kindergarten through grade three or four, to have lower ratios than the test batteries for the higher grades. This is largely because the tests at the early grades have fewer extended reading passages. Another reason for the low ratio may be the home orientation of primary education. Examples and discussion may revolve more around the home and mother. These findings are analogous to those in the previously discussed Jacklin *et al.* report; the pattern of stereotypic portrayal of males and females heightens and intensifies as grade level is raised.

Our analysis of language usage suggests that educational achievement tests reflect the general bias in school instructional materials, referring much more frequently to males and their world, seldom balancing references and drawing on content equally for the two sexes. Nevertheless, since this bias results from the use of regular rather than generic nouns and pronouns, it is susceptible to change.

Sex roles stereotypes evident in item content were also recorded for each test analyzed. Women were portrayed almost exclusively as homemakers or in the pursuit of hobbies (e.g., "Mrs. Jones, the President of the Garden Club . . .").[6] Young girls carry out "female chores" (e.g., Father helps Betty and Tom build a playhouse; when it's completed, "Betty sets out dishes on the table, while Tom carries in the chairs . . .").[7]

In numerous activity-centered items, boys were shown playing, climbing, camping, hiking, taking on roles of responsibility and leadership. Girls help with the cooking, buy ribbon and vegetables, and, when participating in any active pursuit, take the back seat to the stronger, more qualified boys (e.g., Buddy says to Clara, "Oh, I guess it's all right for us boys to help girls. I've done some good turns for girls myself, because I'm a Scout.").[8]

In addition, some items implied that the majority of professions are closed to women. A reading comprehension passage about the characteristics and qualifications required for the Presidency began with the statement: "In the United States, voters do not directly choose the man they wish to be President." It repeatedly says "he must be," "he must have . . ."[9] Most short biographies were written about men. Practically all teachers were listed as female, while professors, doctors, and presidents of companies were listed as male. If a team was mentioned, it usually had all male members. Thus an examination of the content of these tests for sex role stereotypes suggests that achievement tests do not differ from other instructional materials in education: their content contains numerous sex role stereotypes.

Tittle's analysis of educational achievement tests demonstrates both substantial bias in the number of male and female noun and pronoun references, and frequent stereotypic portrayals in the content. These aspects of testing could easily be altered to present a more equitable and less prejudiced view of women, for example, by showing women in a variety of occupations and activities. Test publishers can easily address these criticisms by initiating a review procedure very early in the test development process. Specifications to item writers can encourage a less stereotypic presentation. Examples can be drawn from history, literature, science, and other areas where women have made contributions. Test editors can review the content before specific items are tried out. Review procedures to ensure balanced presentation of males and females can be instituted when a test is assembled.[10]

One last point should be stressed. Tests have been used extensively in school settings with little thought given in the socializing aspects of their content. The last decade has heightened awareness of potential cultural bias in the content of testing. Perhaps now is the time to stress that testing instruments not only *assess* but also convey and *teach* much about the latent aspects of our culture—our prejudices, our mores, and our way of life.

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[6] *California Achievement Tests*—Language Usage, Level 5, Form A, 1970, item No. 43, p. 43.

[7] SRA Achievement Series—Reading 1–2, Form D, 1963, p. 17.

[8] SRA Achievement Series—Grammatical Usage, Multilevel Edition, Form D, 1963, p. 45.

[9] *SRA Achievement Series*—Reading, Multilevel Edition, Form D, 1963, p. 76. See also *Sequential Tests of Educational Progress*, Series II Reading Form 1A, 1969, p. 18.

[10] Women on Words and Images (1972) describe a form for evaluating sexism in readers. A similar form could be developed for test content, considering the illustrations, main characters and characteristics of children and adults. The categories developed by Jacklin *et al.* could also be valuable in a review procedure.

### CURRICULAR REQUIREMENTS

The small amount of evidence available on school curriculum suggests it too may promote sex role stereotyping and sex discrimination. Acceptable avenues for the expression of a variety of interests are prescribed differently for males and females. Girls are told at any early age that boys are mechanically and scientifically inclined while girls excell at reading and language. To some extent this is reinforced by a division of males and females into seventh grade shop and home economics. Later vocational education tracks usually vary by sex; boys acquire a series of shop and mechanical skills while girls prepare for a life as a wife and mother, sometimes with secretarial skills on the side in case there is need to supplement a husband's income. Physical education classes for the most part are segregated by sex and as such often establish different physical expectations for individual performance by sex. All males are expected to be athletic superstars, while girls are not expected to aspire to anything beyond a good intramural fray. These expectations are often vigorously reinforced with substantially different financial allocations to boys' and girls' physical education programs.

Sex bias in vocational and physical education curricula is relatively easy to document and shall be the focus of this discussion. The deliberate segregation of the sexes according to preconceived notions of appropriate curricular activities is open to question in terms of the limitations it imposes on both sexes. Whose decision has led to sex-segregated classes? How pervasive is such segregation? Are such decisions made by students and their families or tacitly made *a priori*?

Education is not specifically mentioned in the United States Constitution, and hence its control constitutionally becomes the prerogative of each state. All fifty states have eplicit constitutional provisions and numerous statutes and regulations which establish specific state responsibilities for the education of their citizenry. The National Education Association is one of the few existing sources of information about states' curricular and graduation requirements (Thompson, 1972). Most state requirements address only a limited number of academic subjects and a few non-academic ones like physical education, health, and practical arts. According to the NEA Educational Research Service (1972), no states patently discriminate by sex in the specification of their curricular requirements although variations by state do occur in those curricular items specified as mandatory and those considered to be the option of local school boards and administrators. Decisions about curricular and sexual composition of classes largely become prerogative of local authorities.

Perhaps the most extreme form of discrimination in the exercise of local options occurs in metropolitan areas where a high concentration of students allows specialized high schools to appear. By design or default they usually become unisexual institutions and often male institutions. Given that public funds support these public schools, simply equity would require that male and female students have equal access to the programs offered. Females frequently are not admitted, and, where they are, often face more stringent entrance requirements, i.e., higher academic performance is demanded (Bryan, 1972; New York N. O.W., 1972). For example, of those courses listed in ***Public High Schools, New York City*** (New York City Board of Education, 1970), seventy-seven are designated as technical courses restricted to males and thirty-six are designated for females. Discrimination does not stop at the door to the classroom; as the New York City Board of Education (1972) notes, the system of vocational education in New York City discriminates against girls in three significant ways. First, more class slots are open to boys than to girls. Second, a "greater variety of more useful courses" are offered to boys than to girls, and, finally, even within a vocational program, such as fashion or dentistry, courses are labeled as being appropriate for one sex or the other. Such sex distinctions in vocational courses limit potential occupational roles for both males and females.

In the case of the vast majority of secondary schools in the United States local educationa loptions are translated into some variation on the comprehensive high school theme James Conant advocated (1959). These options often result in a curriculum which is discriminatory in terms of specified vocational tracks and physical education courses. Frequently such discrimination occurs with the implicit consent of school boards. Data available from the USOE's Bureau of Adult, Vocational and Technical Education (1972) substantially reflect this skewed sorting of students into "sex-appropriate" vocational tracks. Ninety-five per cent of all students registered in vocational agriculture courses are male. These figures represent the beginning of a new trend, for in 1970 no females were enrolled in agriculture. The field of health has also recently experienced a shift or minimal magnitude. In 1965, males constituted 4.9 per cent of those registered in health courses, as compared to 12.3 per cent of the health student population in 1971. Male and female distributions in other categories for which the Bureau aggregates data conform to the same stereotype pattern: ninety-three per cent of all students registered in consumer and homemaking courses are female; eighty-five per cent of those enrolled in home economic courses which lead to gainful employment are female; ninety-two per cent of those registered in technical courses—metallurgy, engineering, oceanography, police science—are male; seventy-five per cent in office occupations are female; and eighty-nine per cent of all registered in trade and industrial courses are male.

These issues take on particular urgency when it is realized that recently there has been renewed interest in questions of career education and choice. The year 1971 saw the largest investment ever in vocational education by federal, state, and local governments, a combined increase of twenty-two per cent over 1970 ($1,952,000,000 by state and local governments and $396,000,000 by the federal government). In addition, career education has become a banner program of the current Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Renewed interest in vocational and career education is thus reflected in financial and political support, and yet the distribution of the sexes into fields over the last decade has continued to follow traditional sex role patterns.

Perhaps such simple injustices could be accepted if labor market statistics revealed a different reality. In 1971, however, according to the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor (1972), one-third of the thirty-two million women who were in the labor force were clerical workers. These figures included 3.6 million stenographers, typists, and secretaries. Seventeen per cent of the thirty-two million were service workers, fifteen per cent were professional or technical workers, of whom 1.9 million were teachers, and thirteen per cent were operatives, chiefly in factories. Women who were employed full-time in 1970 earned as a median income $5,323, or 59.4 per cent of the $8,966 median income earned by fully employed men. Surely no one would argue that women deliberately prefer such narrow, low paying, and low status sectors of the labor market. In fact, once given the opportunity, a noticeable insurgence of women is found in those fields which traditionally had been masculine domains. Soon these fields aggressively recruit female participation (Hedges, 1970; Zellner, 1972; Levitin, Quinn, and Staines, 1973).

As Crowley, Levitin, and Quinn (1973) point out:

> The 'average woman' is a statistical creation, a fiction. She has been used to defend the status quo of the labor market, on the assumption that knowing the sex of an employee reliably predicts his or her job attitudes. This assumption is false. Knowing that a worker is female allows us to predict that she will hold a job in a 'woman's field,' and that she will be substantially underpaid for a person of her qualifications. But knowing that a worker is female does not help us much to predict what she wants from ther job. (p. 96)

While half of all women employed in 1969 were concentrated in 21 of the 250 distinct occupations listed by the Census Bureau (Hedges, 1970), an increasing proportion of these women assumed responsibility for some portion of their own or their household's income during their lifetime (Levitin, Quinn, and Staines, 1973). Thus to argue that women prefer low incomes and less secure positions in the labor market is fallacious. Unfortunately, the onus of such occupational distributions must lie at the feet of industries seeking unskilled cheap labor, and on the shoulders of schools which counsel and prepare women for limited future occupational roles.

Allocation of money to support sports and physical education programs represents another very clear instance in which resources are allocated differentially on the basis of sex. The tendency to support a major sports program for boys but not for girls starts early, often at the initiative of the local community. While there have been a few recent outstanding exceptions, communities typically organize Little League baseball and football teams, leaving young girls to their dolls. Eight-year-old girls quickly learn that only males "are proficient enough to form leagues, play regulation length games with paid umpires, uniforms, full schedules, and championship playoffs" (Dunning, 1972, pp. 28–29). Such activities are usually neither sponsored nor organized by the elementary school, but do set the precedent for sex-segregated physical education after the fourth or fifth grade. Little rationale other than tradition exists for such segregation when students are being taught the same sport and are of approximately the same height, strength, weight, and skill level. Of course, young males are encouraged by their family, the media, and their peers to spend many hours a week on athletic activities outside of school, and by the time they are ten or eleven their athletic skills have been finely honed.

Real discrimination in the allocation of time, financial resources, and physical facilities is most evident in junior and senior high school. The largest swimming pool, the best playing fields, the finest tennis courts are usually reserved for male sporting events. Most schools offer male students a sports program composed of varsity competition in football, basketball, baseball, track, swimming, and other sports. These activities are considered to be an essential element in the comprehensive educational package offered by the school. Coaches are hired, uniforms purchased, and facilities built. Such expenditures are considered to be legitimate line-items in a school's budget. Seldom does a school's budget reflect comparable line-item expenditures for a girls' athletic program. Girls Athletic Associations (GAA) are usually voluntary, "out-of-school" programs. At a high school in California, for example, "the GAA must sell hot dogs at football games, bake cupcakes and other such things to support their limited program which . . . includes field hockey, basketball, volleyball, tennis and softball. In other words, there is no pre-existing program at the high school for female athletes or those girls who wish to become athletes. If the GAA cannot sell enough hot dogs and popcorn, there will be no field hockey team. If enough cupcakes aren't sold or bottles collected, basketball may have to go. The boys' programs do not face similar problems" (Dunning, p. 26).

Even the salary supplements that coaches receive highlight the school's discrimination in physical education. According to the N.E.A. (1972) in 1971–72 the extracurricular salary supplements for head coaches ranged from a low of $1,226 to a high of $5,500. Intramural sports coaches received supplements which ranged from $554 to $1,920 and the cheerleader advisor received from a low of $347 to a high of $2,240. These salary supplements were not reported by sex but it is highly likely that the head coach is a male and the cheerleader advisor and possibly some of the intramural coaches are females. Schools do communicate in many ways, that boys' athletic programs are of greater significance to the school's educational programs than are those for girls; the best physical facilities are reserved for male use, financial support of girls' programs is minimal, and an elaborate system of athletic options for girls and boys of varying abilities is nonexistent.

It is not our intent in this article to substitute one curricular prescription for another, nor do we suggest that any arbitrary concept of equal curricular opportunity is either desirable or feasible. We do assert that girls and boys should be treated by the school as individuals each with her or his own individual curricular interests and needs. Schools should make available to girls as well as boys a full range of options in physical education and interscholastic athletics. Shorthand and typing skills are at least as useful to boys as woodworking. The school curriculum has clearly functioned to reinforce rigid, educationally discriminatory, and sexually stereotypic attitudes in both students and school staff. Schools seeking to free the next generation of youth from the dysfunctional constraints of the past will have to change curricular requirements and redress inequities in the options open to boys and girls But in order to accomplish these structural reforms schools must face the serious problem of changing the attitudes of administrators, counselors, and teachers.

## CONCLUSIONS

Until quite recently, no one had challenged the long-standing tendency of school boards, state boards of education, and other authoritative educational bodies to mandate curricular requirements and other educational practices which differ by sex. Now a substantial number of local groups have begun to do just that. Organizations have begun to analyze the textbooks being used in districts around the country, to challenge physical educational policies, to press for class action suits on vocational educational issues, and to review employment advancement practices.[11]

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[11] Best known among these groups are Women on Words and Images in New Jersey; the Emma Willard Task Force in Minneapolis; Know, Inc., in Pennsylvania; and numerous local chapters of the National Organization for Women. An excellent source for information regarding these groups and the grounds upon which they intend to test these issues is the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education which has been established under the auspices of the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, in Washington, D.C. The Resource Center was established to offer technical assistance to state departments of education and local school districts as they begin to understand and adjust to recent federal landmark legislation which bears on the issue of sex discrimination in public education.

Many of these activities have been spurred by recent federal legislation, specifically, Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972, Executive Order #11246, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Equal Pay Act, all of which prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex in federally assisted programs. Unfortunately, to date no substantial federal effort has been launched to notify states and local school systems of the content of this legislation. Guidelines for enforcement of Title IX are in the process of being designed by H.E.W.'s Office of Civil Rights. Once these guidelines are adopted, legal action against school districts in violation of the intent of the legislation becomes an imminent possibility. Until such guidelines are issued, complaints are processed under the aegis of Executive Order #11246 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. both of which prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of sex, and the Equal Pay Act, which prohibits discrimination in salaries on the basis of sex. Once issued. the guidelines will indicate the extent to which federal leverage will be applied to reduce sex discrimination in public educational agencies. Evidence regarding H.E.W.'s record to date, however, does not support an optimistic outlook (Knox & Kelly, 1972).

There are, of course, many actions which local school districts, school boards, state educational agencies, and textbook and test publishers can take which need not wait for the prod of federal legislation (see Lyon & Saario, 1973). Much of the structure and content of the American school system has evolved rather haphazardly over time and without grand design; there is very little that ought to be sacrosanct about the system. Local administrators and educational policy makers need to identify and eradicate all those elements of sex discrimination in their schools which prohibit and constrain the options of every adult and student in the system. Textbook and test publishers need to marshall their products in the same way. The issue ultimately becomes a matter of conscience and simple justice.

This article has presented a few examples of the way in which existing elements of the school contribute to sex role stereotyping and discriminate against both male and female students. Textbooks and other curricular materials, testing and counseling procedures, and mandated curriculum and sports requirements sort and classify students in alignment with societys reified notions regarding appropriate sex role behaviors.

We have not addressed a series of far knottier questions. To what extent are children already socialized by the time that they reach the school so that changing school policy will make little or no difference in shaping attitudes? Even if it is assumed that schools have an impact on children's attitudes, how can aspects of the schooling process which contribute most strongly to sex role stereotyping be isolated? And once relevant schooling factors have been identified, what is the best way to study their impact upon children? Questions about the ways in which teachers react to, reward, and reinforce the behaviors of male and female students have not been addressed in this article. Some researchers argue that girls more than boys tend to imitate and respond positively to teacher reinforcements (see Smith, 1972, for a review). If that is the case, then girls are responding to strong pressures to be compliant, passive, tractable, and dependent. The same researchers suggest that an opposite trend may be operating for boys. Getting less approval from teachers and needing less from their peers, boys may become more self-motivated and more confident. There is a school of thought which argues the converse, i.e., that schools reinforce femininity in boys (Sexton, 1969). Obviously, more empirical research on the impact of teachers' behaviors upon sex role development is needed.

Little longitudinal research has been conducted in the field of sex role development, and its absence has contributed to confusion regarding the relative impact of hormones and socialization upon the development of sex role differences. At Stanford University. Macoby and Jacklin recently initiated an eight-year study of two cohorts of children from birth to the age of first school attendance to examine the interaction of hormones and parental socialization practices. This study and similar or related research, such as John Money's at Johns Hopkins, should illuminate to some extent the "nature-nurture" argument as it is related to the development of sex differences. Parallel and longitudinal studies which simultaneously test the multiplicity of theories in the field of sex role development could clarify the significance of some of these models and could move the field toward greater theoretical sophistication (see Emmerich, 1972).

A new concept has been introduced into the common parlance of the field of sex role development by Sandra Bem (1972). Many individuals, according to

Bem, do not fall at the extremes in the distribution of such sex-related characteristics as aggression, dependence, and sociability. Rather, most people evidence behaviors which are truly androgynous, i.e., neither representative of maleness nor femaleness. Bem is now attempting to develop instruments which could establish the degree to which such traits are present in an individual's behavior. Studies like Bem's have begun to question the stereotypic perception of male and female behavior which is implicit in many research designs. Too frequently variations between the sexes have been reported and magnified while the variation which exists within each sex category has been overlooked or masked.

Once research has documented the impact of all school factors upon sex role development (i.e., guidance counselors, peer group influences, the media used in school settings, the intervention of the home, in addition to those variables already discussed), then the task becomes one of developing and testing new behavioral models for school settings. As yet, little is known about how effective androgynous materials and behaviors will be upon future generations of students. Most studies simply scratch the surface. Present understanding of the socialization and maturation processes which lead toward mature sex role identities is rather limited.

The examples of sex discrimination addressed in this article are merely symptomatic of a far greater and more pervasive phenomenon in our society. All social institutions promote stereotypic conceptions of male and female roles; all societies contain their own peculiar sex role mythologies. Some permit far greater latitude in the definition of boundaries between male and female roles than others. The definition of those boundaries, as Ruth Benedict (1961) so eloquently argued, is nothing more than a cultural artifact. Some societies adhere to a bimodel distribution of behavioral traits, aptitudes, and emotional expression; others acknowledge the necessity of having a community of adults whose characteristics overlap considerably on a number of dimensions.

We argue for such diversity, and for more flexible and more tolerant definitions of sex roles, because the livelihood and health of the American nation depends upon the talents of all its members, because the absence of restrictive stereotypes enhances the liberty and human potential of all persons, and because simple fairness and equity demand it.

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### by the Feminists on Children's Literature

# A Feminist Look at Children's Books

*"Our history has been stolen from us. Our heroes died in childbirth, from peritonitis, overwork, oppression, from bottled-up rage. Our geniuses were never taught to read or write. We must invent a past adequate to our ambitions. We must create a future adequate to our needs."—The Old Mole, Cambridge, Massachusetts*

IS THE PORTRAYAL of females in children's books sexist? That is, are girls and women assigned only traditional female roles and personalities? And when the female foot fails to fit that often too-tight shoe, is the girl or woman then seen as an unfortunate, troubled human being?

These questions were the basis of a group effort to scrutinize some of the more highly praised children's books. In our view, a non-sexist portrayal would offer the girl reader a positive image of woman's physical, emotional, and intellectual potential—one that would encourage her to reach her own full personhood, free of traditionally imposed limitations.

In selecting books to examine, we consulted a number of influential lists. These were the *Notable Books of 1969* (American Library Association), the Child Study Association's annual recommendations for that same year, and the Newbery Award winners.

It was a shock to discover almost immediately that relatively few of the books on these lists even feature female characters—let alone what we would consider *positive* female characters. Of all 49 Newbery Award winners, books about boys outnumbered books about girls by about three to one. On that score, the years have brought little improvement. The ALA list for 1969 gave us a ratio of over two to one.

The Child Study Association list for the same year proved more difficult to analyze. It is very long, divided into innumerable categories, and many of the books can't yet be found in the libraries. However, we made a separate check of several categories. Under the heading of "Boys and Girls" we found a male to female ratio of two to one. Under "Growing Up" the ratio was over three to one. And "Sports," of course, like certain bars we could formerly name, was 100 percent male. The rest of the book list may not follow the pattern of this sampling, but suspicion runs high!

The thoughtful introduction to the Child Study Association list makes the following statement: The books a child reads "should not shield him from knowledge of destructive forces in the world, but rather help him to cope with them." We agree, for the most part. But why does the sentence read "shield *him*" and "help *him*"? Sexism is such a destructive force in the world, that we feel the implicit sexism is this sentence should not be overlooked.

The introduction states also that a book's "possible emotional and intellectual impact on a young reader" must be considered. Right on! Not even a problem of gender there. The CSA continues: "from its inception, it has been aware of the mental health aspects of reading and asks that books for children present basically honest concepts of life, positive ethical values, and honest interpersonal relationships."

We ask no more than that. The

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*The Feminists on Children's Media are a collective of women who are preparing a list of non-sexist children's books. The collective includes mothers, high school students, librarians, and other professionals in writing, publishing, and education. This article was part of a media presentation on Sexism in Children's Books presented in cooperation with the Author's Guild on October 15*

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CSA has clearly been struggling to encourage greater sensitivity toward racism in books for children. If only their future book selections could be made with an equally growing sensitivity to the impact of sexism! Many of the present selections fail to realize the promise of their own introduction. The list is guilty of sexism—if only through indifference.

Of course, a greater sensitivity to sexism would greatly curtail the current lists of recommended children's books—at least for the next few years. Yet, a scrupulous attitude on the part of prestigious organizations would surely serve powerfully in raising the general feminist consciousness of the children's book world, making forever obsolete Eve Merriam's recent and accurate comment that "sex prejudice is the only prejudice now considered socially acceptable." Habit dies hard.

We'd like to apologize for seeming to pick on CSA. It's just that such a praiseworthy introduction deserved attention in terms of its implications for the female image. Nor were we being picky in our examination of specific books: checking the prevalence of so virulent a disease as sexism requires the isolation of even potential carriers.

What would we like to see in children's books? What were our criteria? We wanted to see girl readers encouraged to develop physical confidence and strength without the need to fear any corresponding loss of "femininity." We would have liked to see the elimination of all those tiresome references to "tomboys." Why can't a girl who prefers baseball to ballet simply be a girl who prefers baseball to ballet?

Many women have to—or simply prefer to—earn a living. Can't we encourage girls to find satisfaction and fulfillment in work, and lay forever the suspicion that work outside the home for a *woman* is primarily proof of her inability to love a man, or to land a sufficiently lucrative one? Women do study seriously, work with enjoyment—or at least pride in their competence—get promoted, and (of course) fight sexism at work and in their families in order to progress. Let's show them as no less "feminine," despite the assertiveness and firm sense of self required in this untraditional role.

Margaret Mead has written that "man is unsexed by failure, woman by success." That's another brutal truth we'd like to see changed. And while we're about it, let's not overlook the fact that boys, too, are denigrated and cramped by sexism. Our current rigid role definitions require that a boy be all that a girl should not be: unafraid, competent at "male" jobs, strong. A weeping boy is a "sissy." Words like "sissy"—and "hero," too—should be dissected and exposed for the inhuman demands they make on growing boys. Children's books could help.

We object to a woman's being defined by the man she marries, or the children she bears, or the father she once obeyed. Let's see women who are people in their own right—independent of such compensatory affiliations. And if a woman doesn't want children, or even a husband, must this be seen as peculiar? Why not encourage girls in a search for alternate life styles? Give a girl all the possible options you give a boy for her future life choices, all his freedom to inquire and explore and achieve. Her options don't have to be slanted toward certain currently socially imposed preferences.

There are books on superwomen. Okay. Superwomen do exist. But many more books are needed on women who simply function very well and freely wherever they choose—or are forced—to apply their abilities.

We are bitterly tired of seeing depictions of the woman as castrator. Even a well-known writer, whose portrayal of girls we frequently admire, slipped badly in some recent picture books. In one of these, the mother reproves her son for spilling the mud he is playing with—even though the scene is outdoors! In another, little sister (and we know where she learned *her* lesson) reproves brother for accidentally spilling paint off his easel. Little girls are as capable of making a casual mess and as freely lost in creative play as little boys. A picture book that does that beautifully is *Rain Rain Rivers* by Uri Shulevitz (Farrar, 1969) which we were delighted to find on both the ALA and CSA lists. (We were as pleased to find the two previously mentioned books ignored by both lists.)

And when, as must sometimes happen if books portray real life, there is an overcontrolling or too-bossy woman, she should not be made a fool or villain. A little understanding—of her problem, her frustration at not being allowed to play an equal role in her family or her world, and her consequent misuse of energy to project her ideas and ego through the lives of others—is long overdue.

How about books showing more divorced and single-parent families? And, for heaven's sake, every divorced or widowed mother does not solve her problems through remarriage—or even wish to do so. (Few do, you know!) Maybe she can start on that career she never had—and discover a new concept of herself. The difficulties and the loneliness, are real, as are the child-care problems. But let the woman find a new self-reliance in fighting her own battles—and joy in winning at least some of them.

There is also the question of language. No more automatic use of "he" to mean "child," or "mankind" to mean "humankind." If at first the alternatives seem forced—and they will—they won't sound that way for long.

Despite our criticism of socially assigned roles, we don't mean to diminish or ignore the mother or housewife. She is often a strong, wonderfully rich human being. Her role can be vital, and sometimes she finds satisfaction in it. But let's not insist on that as *her* role. Men can also cope skillfully with household tasks—and not necessarily look for a woman or daughter to take them off the hook.

### *SEXIST BOOKS*

The books we read—most from the lists mentioned earlier—fell, or were pushed by our merciless analysis, into several categories. One, plain and simple, was the Sexist Book, in which girls and women are exclusively assigned traditional female roles—although the material may, unhappily, be fairly true to life.

We were forcibly struck by the purposeful sexist propoganda between the covers of some of the recommended children's books.

Young women who have found it an uphill struggle to identify with the popular female image will recognize it as propaganda—and not simply as a natural reflection of life. Unfortunately the girl reader is not yet so experienced. Books that outline a traditional background role for women, praising their domestic accomplishments, their timidity of soul, their gentle appearance and manners, and—at the same time—fail to portray initiative, enterprise, physical prowess, and genuine intellect deliver a powerful message to children of both sexes. Such books are a social poison.

Take, for a horrible example, the attitude exemplified in the following line: "Accept the fact that this is a man's world and learn how to play the game gracefully." Those words fell from the lips of a *sympathetic* male character in Irene Hunt's 1967 Newbery winner *Up a Road Slowly* (Follett, 1966). Or take this juicy bit from the 1957 winner *Miracles on Maple Hill* by Virginia Sorenson (Harcourt, 1956):

> For the millionth time she was glad

> she wasn't a boy. It was all right for girls to be scared or silly or even ask dumb questions. Everybody just laughed and thought it was funny. But if anybody caught Joe asking a dumb question or even thought he was the littlest bit scared, he went red and purple and white. Daddy was even something like that, old as he was.

Does that passage describe real life? Indeed it does! But a good book for children should comment and leave the child feeling something is wrong here. This one does not. In fact, we voted it our supreme example of the most thoroughly relentless type of sexism found in children's literature. The girl, Marly, never overcomes her hero worship of brother Joe or her comparative inferiority. And it certainly would have been relevant to explore the toll that maintaining hero status takes on Joe's character.

Such perfect examples, of course, are not the rule. But there was a surplus of books whose thesis might seem less obvious, but whose refrain was predictably the same. A little girl in the 1955 Newbery winner *The Wheel on the School* (Harper, 1954) asks her boy playmate: "Can I go, too?" And the response is "No! Girls are no good at jumping. It's a boy's game." Meindert DeJong leaves it at that—and another eager little girl reader is squelched.

Those fictional girls who join the prestigious ranks of male adventurers often do so at the expense of other members of their sex. And small wonder, the tomboy-turned-token-female is simply the other side of the coin. The message is clear: if a girl wishes to join the boys in their pranks and hell-raising, or to use her imagination and personality in leading them, she renounces all claim to supposedly feminine characteristics—tears and fears and pink hair ribbons. The line between traditionally assigned sex roles is drawn sharp and clear. The girl who crosses that line is forced to desert her sex rather than allowed to act as a spokeswoman for a broader definition.

Take *Lulu's Back in Town* (Funk & Wagnall, 1968). The proof provided by author Laura Dean to show Lulu's final acceptance by the boys is the clubhouse sign: "FOR BOYS ONLY. No Girls Allowed. (Except Lulu.)" This is seen by the author, who unfortunately happens to be a woman, as a satisfactory ending. But our committee was not so pleased. (Except to find that neither ALA nor CSA had listed it.)

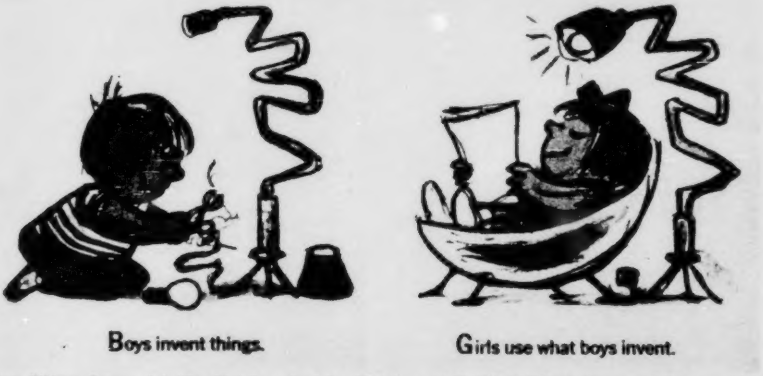
### *COP-OUTS*

The Cop-Out Book is often the most insidious. At its worst, it promises much and delivers nothing. But the better ones are the most infuriating, for often they are only a step away from being the exact kind of literature we'd like to see for girls *and* boys *about* girls. The actual cop-out may be only a crucial line, a paragraph, the last chapter. But somewhere a sexist compromise is made, somewhere the book adjusts to the stereotyped role of woman, often for the sake of social pressure and conformity. The compromise brings with it a change, and this change is not only disturbing, but often distorts the logical development of the character herself. Suddenly her development is redirected—or, rather, stunted.

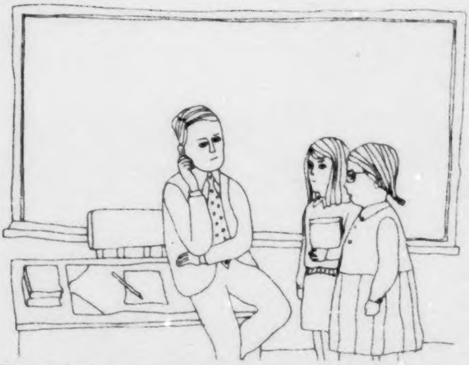
The many Cop-Out Books we found are probably a fair reflection of the social uncertainties and inner conflicts of writers, publishers, and reviewers in our sexist society.

*Caddie Woodlawn* by Carol R. Brink (Macmillan, 1935) is a Newbery winner. Not a recent one, but still extremely popular. Caddie is a young pioneer girl, allowed to run free with her brothers. She is happy and strong in her so-called tomboy role. Though her mother pressures her to become more of a "lady," the reader feels serenely certain that Caddie will remain her own person. Alas, as the book draws to a close, Caddie's father pleads: "It's a strange thing, but somehow we expect more of girls than of boys. It is the sisters and wives and mothers, you know, Caddie, who keep the world sweet and beautiful. . . ." Thus subdued, she joins the insipidly depicted girls at the weaving loom. True, the boys do ask her to teach them how to weave. Apparently they may choose to join women at their work, but no longer may Caddie choose to run free in the woods. And we are left feeling cheated. Why should it be the *right* choice for her obediently to join the "sweet and beautiful" women of the world on their pedestals? Why shouldn't she continue to struggle for a life in which she might fulfill some inner potential?

The linking of a girl's growing up to the abandoning of her "tomboy" ways is a depressingly frequent theme


Boys invent things.
Girls use what boys invent.

*From Whitney Darrow, Jr.'s "I'm Glad I'm a Boy! I'm Glad I'm a Girl!" (Windmill Books/Simon and Schuster, 1970)*



*Al's sympathetic teacher explains that it is against school rules for her to take shop in "A Girl Called Al" by Constance Greene (Viking, 1969)*

in these books. As a stage in growing up, tomboy behavior appears to be acceptable. But the girl must in the end conform to more socially approved behavior. In a widely used bibliography compiled by Clara Kirchner in 1966 entitled *Behavior Patterns in Children's Books* there is an entire section called "From Tomboy to Young Woman." Here are two random descriptions:

> *A Girl Can Dream* by Betty Cavanna (Westminster, 1948): Loretta Larkin, tops in athletics but poor in social graces and jealous of a classmate who shines socially, finds out that being "just a girl" can be fun.
>
> *Billie* by Esphyr Slobodkina (Lothrop, 1959): Billie, who wore faded jeans and played boys' games because she didn't like being a girl, came to think differently after she took ballet lessons to limber up a sprained ankle.

These books fit into the following categories: Womanliness, Growing Up, and Popularity.

Young readers of such grievous cop-outs are forced to believe that the spunk, individuality, and physical capability so refreshingly portrayed in tomboy heroines must be surrendered when girls grow up—in order to fit the passive, supposedly more mature image of a young woman. But where is that earlier energy to be spent? Is depression in the adult woman perhaps linked to the painful suppression of so many sparks of life?

In a way we could call the Cop-Out Book the "co-op" book, for it permits the tomboy reader to believe she can pass comfortably over into that other world at a safely future date. Real life is rarely like that.

A new book recommended on both the ALA and the CSA lists is Constance Green's *A Girl Called Al* (Viking, 1969). The main character comes across as a nonconformist who truly enjoys her individuality, and throughout most of the book she eschews traditional female worries—how she looks, hooking boyfriends, etc. Wonderful. But the ending is a neat little all-American package. Al gets thin, gets pretty, and now she will be popular. All these sudden switches hit the reader in the last few pages. Her pigtails make room for a feminine hairdo. Her closest friend explains: "Her mother took her to the place she gets her hair done and had the man wash and set Al's hair, and now she wears it long with a ribbon around it. It is very becoming, my mother says. She is right. But I miss Al's pigtails. I wanted her to wear it this way but now that she does I'm kind of sorry. She looks older and different, is all I know."

Again, we are led to believe that another character in our long line of individual heroines will conform to the role society has rigidly defined for her. We find it hard to buy the sudden change in Al. And we also miss the pigtails.

Sometimes it is the focus of a book that makes it a cop-out. When we read the 1959 Newbery winner, Elizabeth Speare's *The Witch of Blackbird Pond* (Houghton Mifflin, 1958), we praised Kit's independent spirit, her rejection of bigoted values, and her truly striking courage at a time when women were burned for witchcraft. From a feminist standpoint, the book is marred only by the plot's revolving around the standard question: "Whom shall Kit marry?" In too many books we find the male character worrying about *what* shall he be—while the female character worries about *who* shall he be.

Only a few hairs are out of place in *Next Door to Xanadu* by Doris Orgel (Harper, 1969), also listed by ALA and CSA. The main character faces the too-often very real hatred of preteen boys toward girls. She meets it with strength, earning respect. The only boy-crazy girl in the book is deemphasized. But one scene allows our society's pervasive sexism to come shining through.

At a going-away party for one of the girls, a woman parades as a fortune-teller. "She took out a bowl, put it on the table, filled it with all sorts of strange little things. Then she said 'Who among you dares to delve into the secrets the future holds in store?' " Here were the fortunes of the girls: The girl who pulled out two safety pins would be "the mother of a fine pair of twins." Chalk meant another would be a teacher. The one who picked a little sack of soil would be "a farmer's wife." One pulled a penny: she would be very rich. One picked a little plastic boy doll and she would meet a "fine young man." "Great happiness" was in store for the one who got a bluebird's feather. When one of the girls pulled out a jack, the fortune teller chanted: "Butcher, baker, candlestick-maker; tailor, sailor, teacher, preacher; doctor, lawyer, carpenter, smith—she would have kept it up, but Helen guessed it. Betsy would marry a jack-of-all-trades."

Not *be* a jack-of-all-trades, but *marry* one. Not *be* a farmer, but be a farmer's wife. The only vocation predicted was that of teacher. Unfortunately, fortune-tellers will be like that, until we have feminist fortune-tellers. That would certainly bring brighter futures.

At the risk of carping, we felt that such a fine book as *A Wrinkle in Time* by Madeline L'Engle (Farrar, 1962), the 1963 Newbery winner, had a hint of acceptance of woman's second-class status. This is almost the only science fiction book in which a girl is the main character. We even find a mother who is a scientist, perhaps one of the only scientist moms in juvenile fiction. But why did father have to be a super scientist, topping mom by a degree or two?

### *POSITIVE IMAGES*

Happily, if not of course, there are some books for children which show female characters in flexible, diverse roles. They allow for character development beyond the stereotype, and do not disappoint us in the end.

At first we tried calling these "Non-Sexist." But we found many books were not precisely either Sexist or Cop-Out, though somehow they did not quite fit our exacting feminist standards, usually because they did not deal with the questions they posed in a sufficiently clear, real, and affirmative way. The rare book that did succeed, even in this, is our Positive-Image Book.

Certainly, these categories overlap a bit. *A Wrinkle in Time* really belongs among the Positive-Image Books. We just couldn't resist putting down papa's degrees. Unfair, we admit, because of the especially fine, honest relationship between Calvin (the boy who is a friend, as opposed to Boy Friend) and the girl protagonist. They respect each other's heads, and his ego does not stand in the way of her saving the day with an act of courage that rescues her little brother from it. We also applauded the image of the mother as a brilliant scientist who instills pride in her children.

Another Newbery we salute is the 1961 winner, *Island of the Blue Dolphins* by Scott O'Dell (Houghton Mifflin, 1960), one of the rare books showing a girl with strong physical skills. She kills wild dogs, constructs weapons, kills a giant tentacled sea fish, and hauls a six-man canoe by herself. The Indian girl protagonist, Karana, spends 18 years alone on a bleak and lonely island. And there we are indeed tempted to ask why such a marvelous heroine can only be encountered alone on an island—and never in the midst of society?

While on the subject of positive images, there is a new book we hope will appear on the 1970 recommended lists. *Rufus Gideon Grant* by Leigh Dean (Scribners, 1970) is about a boy, but we were taken by the following reference to a woman: "There inside this magazine was this lady, climbing giant trees and playing with wild chimpanzees. . . . " And Rufus asks: "Can a boy be a zoologist?"

If we had time we would also like to discuss such essentially positive-image books as *Strawberry Girl* by Lois Lenski (Lippincott, 1945), *From the Mixed-Up Files of Mrs. Basil E. Frankweiler* by E. L. Konigsburg (Atheneum, 1967), Vera and Bill Cleaver's *Where the Lilies Bloom* (Lippincott, 1969), and *Pippi Longstocking* by Astrid Lindgren (reissued in paper by Viking, 1969). Padding our Positive-Image list a bit we might add commendable classics like Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (first published in 1865), *Anne of Green Gables* by Lucy M. Montgomery (Grosset & Dunlap, 1908), and *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* by Kate Douglas Wiggin (Macmillan, 1903). Of course there are some positive books that escaped our notice, just as some of the negative ones may have slipped by, but we wanted to cover a fourth and extra category that seems to overlap all the others.

### *ESPECIALLY FOR GIRLS*

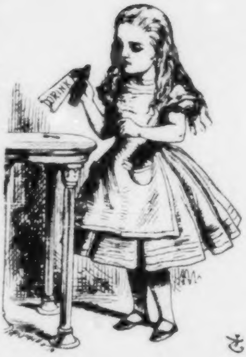
This category appears on a number of publishers' lists and on lists of recommended books. It's called "especially for girls." The reason advanced by librarians and publishers for having such a category at all is that while girls are perfectly happy to read "boys' " books, no self-respecting boy will read books about girls.

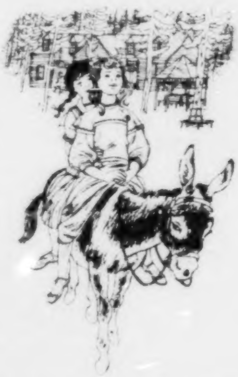
In our male-dominated society, unfortunately, this is probably true. But listing a separate group of books for girls provides boys with a list of books *not* to read, further polarizing the sexes.

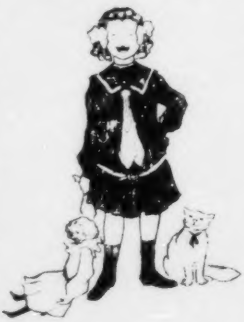
There seems only one possible justification for a separate category of books for girls: to spot and recommend those books which, according to our highest, most stringent feminist standards are not sexist. Pursuing this logic, when children's literature no longer supports sexism, there will no longer be any reason to list books "especially for girls."

The current lists of girls' books promoted by publishers, show a preponderance of stories about love, dating, and romance. And there are the companion books about young girls with problems like shyness, overweight, glasses, acne, and so on, that are supposed to interfere with romance. Certainly, problems facing young girls should be dealt with in the books they read, but we resent the implication forced on young girls that romance is the only fulfilling future for them. Boys, too, are involved in romance, but their books are about other things.

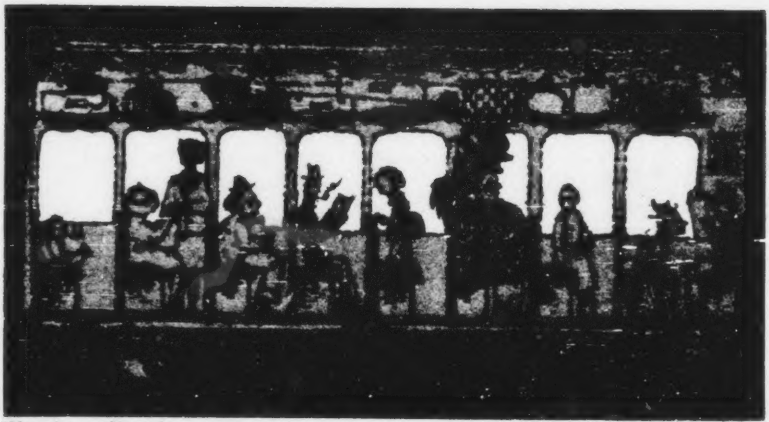
The lists for girls also include career books about nurses, secretaries, ballet dancers, stewardesses. Why not more female doctors? Besses? Pilots?







*Alice (top) bravely meets her unexpected adventures in Lewis Carroll's "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" (Macmillan). The Miller girls (center) don't let being female stand in the way of their adventures; they even have a stepmother who works ("The Motoring Millers" by Albert Wilson Constant, Crowell, 1969). "Phoebe's Revolt" (Farrar, 1968) is quashed by social pressures, though she no longer has to wear pink and ruffles (bottom)*



*"Mommies punching tickets on trains," one of Beni Montresor's illustrations for "Mommies at Work" (Knopf, © 1961 by Merriam and Montresor). Written by Eve Merriam, it is one of the few children's books portraying working mothers*

Aquanauts? Present books simply reinforce the sex roles imposed by society—and even then virtually all the careers end in a cop-out. When the girl marries she gives up the career. But *must* marriage and career be mutually exclusive? These books are justified by their publishers in terms of the market—they are meant to sell rather than to edify. We happen to believe that career books that edify will also sell, and far more lastingly, as women gain struggle for their freedom.

But what about those lists of currently recommended books that *are* intended to edify? In 1969, for example, the Child Study Association listed eight books "Especially for Girls." Of all of these, we were disheartened to find that only one was free—or almost free—of sexism. Two more were Cop-Out books. The rest were middling to very bad.

Let's start with the best. *The Motoring Millers* by Alberta Wilson Constant (Crowell, 1969) not only shows delightful girls and women behaving responsibly and delightfully—and doing many things the men do, but the question of sex roles is specifically aired. In the story, the winner of an auto race turns out to be a young girl. When the wife of a college president says to her: "I want you to know that I am highly in favor of your driving in this race. Women should advance their cause in every field," the winner replies, "I didn't think about that. I just love to drive. Taught myself on our one-cylinder Trumbull when I was ten." We welcome both reactions.

Two more books on this list, *A Girl Called Al* and *Next Door to Xanadu*, have already been described above as Cop-Outs, though we did consider them both *almost* commendable. To those three acceptable books, we would also add *Julie's Decision* by Rose A. Levant (Washburn, 1969) except that we were disturbed by what seemed a paternalistic white attitude especially inappropriate in a book about a black girl.

But, after these titles, the CSA girls' list deteriorates into sexism. It is shocking to find "recommended for girls" a book like *The Two Sisters* by Honor Arundel (Meredith, 1969), which not only reinforces the stereotype of girls as romantic, clothes-crazy, and spendthrift, but whose moral says that, when all is said and done, love is a woman's proper vocation and her future ought to be subordinated to her husband's. The young heroine in *The Two Sisters* has just told her father that she may abandon her university scholarship to follow her husband who has gone off to find a better job in another city. Her father says gently: "Geoff's quite right to be ambitious and you're right not to stand in his way. A man who doesn't get a chance to fulfill his ambition makes a terrible husband." It doesn't occur to either that a woman who sacrifies her potential can also end up making a terrible wife.

John Rowe Townsend's *Hell's Edge* (Lothrop, 1969) is just as bad. The motherless teenage heroine cooks all the meals and does the housework for her teacher-father, whose domestic ineptitude is paraded as one of his endearing qualities. A pair of sisters in the book are set up with mutually exclusive stereotyped female traits—and then shot down for them. One is described as a "half-wit" for being concerned with looks and clothes; the other sister, a bookworm, is denigrated for not caring about her looks or clothes. Damned if you do and damned if you don't.

In another CSA recommendation, the boys in the family are considered more important than the girls, even though the book is supposedly for girls. (Well, it happens in real life too!) The name of that prize is *One to Grow On* by Jean Little (Little, Brown, 1969).

In *A Crown for a Queen* by Ursula Moray Williams (Meredith, 1969), the plot revolves around—get ready—a *beauty* contest with the boys as judges! The most memorable (and most offensive) line occurs when the heroine, Jenny, finally gets the beauty crown. As we might predict, she "never felt happier in her life." This is scarcely the positive female image we'd be looking for, even if we could all be beauty queens.

As our consciousness of "woman's place" changes, our recommendations of books for girls must change. As must books themselves. Eventually, we will have no more need for any list recommended "Especially for Girls."

A SERVICE OF THE
AMERICAN PERSONNEL
AND GUIDANCE
ASSOCIATION

NATIONAL CAREER INFORMATION CENTER
INFORM

Volume 1, Number 2

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# CHANGING PATTERNS IN WOMEN'S LIVES

A contemporary criticism of guidance services has been the failure of the counselor to respond to the informational needs of female clients. Women, individually and collectively, have pointed the finger of failure at schools, colleges and related counseling agencies for continuing to view the woman as a second class member of the labor force. Textbooks and career materials have often presented a slanted picture of career opportunities and their potential consideration by women. The work roles which have been identified tend to reflect only the traditional careers – nurse, teacher, stewardess, secretary. Counselors, teachers and program advisors have been accused of perpetuating these sterotypes in their personal dealings with female students.

All would agree that in order to work with a client, the counselor must possess certain knowledge about the individual. The question which arises is how well the counselor understands the changing patterns in women's lives. Are we aware of the changes which have taken place during recent years? Consider this information which has been generated by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor.

**TODAY THE LIFE EXPECTANCY OF A BABY GIRL IS 74 YEARS. IN 1920 IT WAS 55 YEARS.**

**TODAY THERE ARE 80 GIRLS GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL FOR EVERY 100 GIRLS 17 YEARS OLD IN THE POPULATION. IN 1920 THERE WERE 20.**

**TODAY THERE ARE 18 WOMEN GRADUATING FROM COLLEGE FOR EVERY 100 WOMEN 21 YEARS OLD IN THE POPULATION. IN 1920 THERE WERE 2.**

**TODAY 43 PERCENT OF ALL WOMEN ARE IN THE LABOR FORCE. IN 1920 ONLY 23 PERCENT WERE WORKERS.**

**TODAY THE AVERAGE WOMAN WORKER IS MARRIED AND 39 YEARS OLD. IN 1920 SHE WAS SINGLE AND 28.**

Most women today work for several years after they complete their schooling, then devote themselves to marriage and motherhood before returning to the labor force. About half of today's women marry by age 21 and have their last child at about age 30. After her youngest child has entered school, a mother may have 30 or 35 more years of active life before her. Thus, a woman is almost as likely to be working at age 45 to 54 as at age 20 to 24.

With the time for domestic chores shortened by technological advances, women are freer to choose how they will make their contribution to the family and the community. Moreover, opportunities for paid employment and challenging volunteer service are increasing. As a result, 31.5 million women are in the labor force (by 1980 there probably will be about 37 million), while other millions are devoting their talents and energy to solving some of today's social problems through voluntary efforts.

In view of these facts, plans must be made early for a potentially long career outside the home. The assistance of counselors, teachers, and parents in helping girls choose courses which will develop their abilities and skills to the utmost is essential.

Women and girls themselves must be made more aware of the probable intermittent pattern of their working lives so that they can plan intelligently to fulfill their various roles as homemakers, citizens and workers.

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# AROUND THE WORLD OF WORK

The National Career Information Center has identified a variety of career clusters which represent thousands of occupational opportunities. Each issue of INFORM will list, by cluster, the sources of current career materials. Unless otherwise listed, single copies of the materials are provided on a complimentary basis to counselors and students.

ACCOUNTING — "We Are Involved" American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10019.

AEROSPACE & AVIATION — "Careers in Aerospace" American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N. Y. 10019.

AGRIBUSINESS, FORESTRY & NATURAL RESOURCES — "Your Career – A Place in the Farm and Industrial Equipment Industry" Farm and Industrial Equipment Institute, 410 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

ARCHITECTURE — "Landscape Architecture – A Professional Career in Land Planning" American Society of Landscape Architects, 1750 Old Meadow Road, McLean, Virginia 22101.

AUTOMOTIVE — "Where The Action Is" Educational Affairs Department, Ford Motor Company, The American Road, Dearborn, Michigan 48121.

BANKING, FINANCE & INVESTMENT — "Banking – An Opportunity For You" The American Bankers Association, 1120 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

COMMUNICATIONS AND MEDIA — "Jobs With a Future for People Who Care" C & P Telephone Employment Office, 719 – 13th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005.

COMPUTER & DATA PROCESSING — "Your Career in Data Processing" Data Processing Management Association, 505 Busse Highway, Park Ridge, Illinois 60068.

CONSTRUCTION — "Hands to Build America" National Association of Home Builders, 1625 L Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

CORRECTION, LAW & SECURITY — "1972-73 Directory of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Education" International Association of Chiefs of Police, Eleven Firstfield Road, Gaithersburg, Maryland 20760.

ENGINEERING — "New Careers In Engineering Technology" Engineers' Council for Professional Development, 345 East 47th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017.

ENVIRONMENT — "Careers in Wildlife Conservation and Management" Wildlife Management Institute, 709 Wire Building, Washington, D. C. 20005.

FINE ARTS — "Your Career In Art" Philadelphia College of Art, Broad and Pine Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

FOOD SERVICE & PROCESSING — "The Science and Technology of Food" Institute of Food Technologists, 176 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois 60603.

HEALTH — "Find A Career That Counts – In Hospital Financial Management" Hospital Financial Management Association, 840 N. Lake Shore, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

HOSPITALITY & RECREATION — "Where The Action Is" National Recreation and Park Association, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

INFORMATION SCIENCES — "The World of The Special Librarian Is a World of Information" Special Libraries Association, 235 Park Avenue, South, New York, N. Y. 10003.

MEDICINE — "Learn Medical Transcription and Train Yourself for a Rewarding Career" American Medical Record Association, 875 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

PERSONAL SERVICES — "Can You Deal With These Problems?" American Occupational Therapy Association, 251 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10010.

SCIENCE — "Physics As A Career" American Institute of Physics, 335 East 45th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017.

SOCIAL WORK — "A Career In Social Work – Tough, Exciting, Rewarding" National Association of Social Workers, 2 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016.

# KALEIDOSCOPE

## HIGHER EDUCATION IN CANADA

The identification of a college is not limited to institutions in the United States. More and more, American students are going abroad or to our northern neighbor . . . Canada to study. This tradition has resulted in a 5% American student population in the Canadian university and the prospects of additional students appears very likely in the future. How can the counselor help? Many of the answers are contained in "The Guide to Canadian Universities", a comprehensive directory of information regarding programs, enrollment, size of community, cost, admissions procedures, etc. Cost $2.95. Available from: Simon & Schuster of Canada, Ltd., Richmond Hill, Ontario, Canada.

## MINORITY CAREER GUIDE SERIES

The National Center for Information on Careers in Education has published three brochures developed specifically to encourage members of minorities to consider teaching and other careers in education. "To Teach or Not To Teach" has been created for young people from the Black community. For the young Spanish-speaking audience, the Center has developed "Teaching: Una Forma de Ayudar" for Puerto Ricans and "Teaching: Una Forma Extra-ordinaria" for Chicanos. Order these free materials (by title) from: NCICE, 1607 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20009.

## FROM THE CORPORATIONS

### Tech Grads and DuPont

The role of the technician or technical assistant is depicted in "Opportunities At DuPont for Technical Institute Graduates", including the relationship of this worker to the supervising engineer. Opportunities with DuPont are varied and the reader examines a number of worker profiles as he learns of the career structure of this large and diversified company. Free. Order from: Employee Relations Department, E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company, Wilmington, DE 19898.

### Prudential's Advice to the College-Bound

"Facing Facts About Preparing for Your Future" is a comprehensive guide for students and parents considering the post-secondary education picture. Included is a thorough definition of the various types of colleges and universities and some realistic facts about success and failure. Free copies are available from: Prudential Insurance Company, Box #36, Newark N.J. 17101.

## HEALTH-MAP NATIONAL INFORMATION CENTER

The National Health-Medical and Allied Professions program develops, maintains and distributes literature concerning the encouragement of minority students to consider medical and health careers. Counselors receive posters and postage-paid, post cards which may be used by students to order specific career information. In response, Health-MAP provides occupational briefs and a list of institutions providing training. Services are free. Write to: Health-MAP, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania 19352.

## REFERENCE SERIES FOR TECHNICIANS AND SPECIALISTS

The J. G. Ferguson Publishing Company, best known for the Encyclopedia of Careers, also produces a reference series for high school and two-year college students. *Career Opportunities for Technicians and Specialists* is a five volume series in which nationally known educational and industrial leaders served as consultants, writers and reviewers.

Through a special arrangement with the Ferguson Company, APGA members may purchase the following titles at discount prices: Engineering Technicians; Agricultural, Forestry, and Oceanographic Technicians; Marketing, Business, and Office Specialists; Health Technicians; Community Service and Related Specialists.

Rates to APGA members: $7.95 per volume or $35.85 per set. Retail prices are $11.95 per volume and $59.75 per set. Order from: Publication Sales, APGA, 1607 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20009.

## THE COUNSELOR AND THE VETERAN

Counselors who work with veterans may find the newsletter, *Veterans Education*, extremely informative. The newsletter includes information about educational benefits provided the veteran and a variety of news items which will help the counselor in responding to the informational needs of veterans.

The free newsletter is published quarterly by the Department of Veterans Benefits, Veterans Administration, 810 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C. 20420.

## THE PARAPROFESSIONAL, PRESENT AND FUTURE

The demand for paraprofessionals in law, medicine, architecture, education, and other fields has jumped dramatically in recent years and all evidence indicates that this career level will have to be considered by more and more young decisionmakers. "Paraprofessions: Careers for the Future and the Present", presents an overview of these new career areas whose boundaries and opportunities should continue to grow in the years to come. Price: $4.79. Order from: Julian Messner, 1 West 39th Street, New York, NY 10018.

# INCREASE YOUR USE OF COMMUNITY CAREER CONSULTANTS

FRANCIS E. BURTNETT

Have you ever given much thought to the huge reservoir of career resources which exists in your community? Except for the annual "Career Day," this inexhaustible resource bank goes virtually untapped by guidance workers. Available as career consultants are men and women, representing local industries, businesses, organizations, professions, educational programs and related counseling and personnel services, who have volunteered their services to students, counselors and teachers in an attempt to foster career exploration.

## Who Are Career Consultants?

In each community in the nation there are eager individuals who are willing to assist the counselor as career consultants. Career consultants are men and women representing the variety of occupations which are performed in your community. They come from all occupational areas and represent differing levels of entrance preparation. Information provided by these consultants can help the decision maker to look at each of the occupational roles through the eyes of the practitioner. These experiences may serve as exploratory, informational or motivational functions in the career planning process.

## What Careers Should be Represented?

Begin by developing a career lattice for a number of clusters (e.g., communication, environment, industry). List the various workers employed in each cluster and note the various education levels required for entry into the field. Contact parents, community groups and the business-industrial sector in order to identify specific individuals to participate in the program. Encourage workers doing similar work in different settings to participate in a group effort aimed at describing the variety of employment opportunities. Wherever possible, the counselor should identify young workers who are representative of the entry level positions in each occupation.

## What information should career consultants present?

The career consultant can provide accurate, current, and relevant information regarding all aspects of his occupation. The presentation should include the following elements:

Emphasize the interdependence of occupations within the career cluster. The consultant or counselor may present a horizontal and vertical lattice of jobs at different levels of responsibility and with different education prerequisites. The consultant can then locate his own specialty and talk about how his career relates to others.

Discuss the typical situations or problems with which their occupation deals, the tools or knowledge one uses to deal with the problems, etc.

Role-play some typical situations they encounter in their work.

Define the characteristics of the populations they serve and the individuals with whom they work.

Describe the effect, if any, which change and automation have had on their work.

Outline the different routes occupationally and/or educationally one might take to get into the particular career, including licensing, certification, and other special requirements.

Relate how one advances and moves to other occupations within the particular career cluster.

Indicate what they wish they had known about the occupation before entering it and what they might have done differently.

Encourage the consultant to describe the greatest personal satisfaction and the most serious frustrations in the work.

Discuss the immediate employment situation for the occupations in the career field and project trends which may have bearing on future entry.

Avoid emphasis on occupational conditions such as salary, fringe benefits, etc. as these can be more appropriately discussed during a personal interview or meeting.

Allow time for relevant questions by student participants.

## What type of format should be followed in the utilization of career consultants?

Small group sessions involving the career consultant(s), ten to twelve students and the counselor or teacher are most desirable. This type of arrangement increases the chances for an informal presentation of information by the consultant and maximum involvement of the student "information consumers." It will decrease the possibilities of a lecture or speech type of presentation often associated with typical career day or career conference activities. The counselor's role is nondirective except to serve as a motivational agent to inspire greater student participation.

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**Mr. Burtnett is the director of The National Career Information Center, Washington, D.C.**

Full utilization of these valuable human resources means more than a once-a-year program which offers students only a token opportunity to relate to representatives in the career cluster. An ongoing career consultant program with bi-weekly or monthly programs will result in the following benefits: (1) students would be exposed to more workers, (2) repeat programs would permit smaller groups and more meaningful dialogue between student and consultant, (3) external pressures (peer and parental) to confer with certain consultants would be diminished if a broad offering of workers representing the entire career cluster were presented and (4) counselor participation would be increased.

Students should be encouraged to participate in as many of the programs dealing with the career cluster as possible. This multi-participation will lead to a greater awareness of the various career roles in the field and will permit the students to see and analyze the interdependence of all workers on the team.

Ideally, the group interaction with career consultants might lead to additional informational experiences such as field visitations, personal observations/interviews and possibly real work experiences of a part-time, summer, or work-study nature. Observation and related experiences, such as a day of actual on-the-job performance, may provide the information through which the student will make his career decision.

### Evaluation of the career consultant program

Human resources, just like those from the media of print, tape, film, must be evaluated in respect to the accuracy and relevancy of the information and the effectiveness of the presentation.

Counselors may wish to hold follow-up sessions with students to: (1) answer any post-experience questions, (2) assist students in identifying additional sources of information, (3) plan an extended informational experience or, (4) engage in a direct planning activity (e.g., application to a training program). Any of these situations will permit an opportunity for a critical evaluation of the participation of the consultants.

### Record your programs

Arrange to record each career consultant program. The sessions where consultants provide a sound informational base and engage in relevant dialogue with students will then be available for playback to other student groups or to individuals who were unable to participate. Each new reel or cassette adds to your library of local career information.

The plan which is contained in this article should not be misconstrued. Career days are valuable guidance activities, and this is not a move to bring about their abolition. The question which is raised is whether more benefit can be gained from an extension of this type of activity. One might start with a weekly program involving a single consultant. If this proves successful, two programs weekly with multiple consultants might be attempted. A survey of student interests will provide the basic information upon which a career consultant program can be initiated and provide the necessary leads to determine which careers should be presented.

### References

Hollis, J. W. and Hollis, Lucile U. *Personalizing Information Processes*, The MacMillan Company, 1969.

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## INFORMATION ON CONTEMPORARY MEDICAL CAREERS

Two publications listing more than 110 training programs for training physician's assistants and other physician support personnel have been issued by the Division of Manpower Intelligence of HEW's National Institute of Health.

The revised version of "Selected Training Programs for Physician Support Personnel" lists programs, location, curriculum, credential information, and financial aid offered for 112 programs. Cost $1.00. Order from: Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. 20402.

"Summary of Training Programs: Physician Support Personnel" lists operational programs to train assistant to the primary care physician, programs training assistants for a speciality, and programs under development. Basic is provided about the institution, including financial aid. Free. Order from: Division of Manpower Intelligence, National Institute of Health, 9000 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, Maryland 20014.

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## TEST YOUR CAREER INTERESTS???

What is a symmetrical compound? Can you predict the population in the year 2000? How does a geologist determine where to drill for oil? . . . These are some of the questions and ideas young people in secondary school will consider as they explore their interest in science as a potential career with the help of a planning aid, "Test Yourself for Science." This novel tool "tests" a student's interest in various fields of science — chemistry, biology, mathematics, geology, physics, and engineering. Imaginative and relevant problems for the various sciences are presented in a programmed self-test. This 48 page booklet is available from the Scientific Manpower Commission, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418. Price: $1.00. Review copies may be obtained from SMC.

KALEIDOSCOPE (Continued)

## CAREER OF THE MONTH

Vocational Films has announced the development of a special dissemination package of career films for counselors. Participants in this program will receive, postpaid, a current 16mm, sound, color career guidance motion picture each month of the school year, October through May. The running time of this series (approximately 12 minutes) is designed to maximize pre and post discussion with the audience. Free users guides are also available. Write for additional information: Vocational Films, 111 Euclid Avenue, Park Ridge, Illinois 60068.

## WORKING FOR UNCLE SAM

Common questions and answers regarding federal employment outlined in the pamphlet, "Working for the USA." Included in the publication are Civil Service application procedures and a listing of the Federal Job Information Centers which are located in each state. Cost: 20¢. Available from: Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402. Number 0600-0607.

## WOMEN CIVIL SERVANTS INFORMED OF JOB RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The opportunities and rights of Federally employed women are summarized in a new publication, "Calling All Women in Federal Service," issued by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. Directed to both present and potential employees, the brief guide outlines various acts and Executive Orders which eliminate barriers to women's equal employment opportunity in civil service occupations. It also describes special programs available to women civil servants, including counseling, training and upward mobility opportunities. Single copies are free and available from Women's Bureau, Employment Standards Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 20210.

## REVIEW REQUIRED

Each of the materials listed in the publications of the National Career Information Center should be reviewed in consideration of their relevance to the situation where they are to be used. Materials found to be inaccurate should be discarded or used with appropriate qualifications as to their accuracy.

## POSTER SET: CAREERS AND CURRICULAR INTERESTS

Thirteen career posters illustrate the variety of career fields associated with interests in school and college subjects. Training levels are depicted along with occupational environment (e.g., business, outdoor, etc.). The set is published by the Minnesota Department of Education and may be purchased from: Documents Section, Room 140 Centennial Bldg., St. Paul, MN 55101. Price: $1.00.

## FREE LOAN CAREER GUIDANCE FILMS

More than thirty films are included in the career guidance listing recently announced by the Modern Talking Picture Service. All of the films have been produced by authoritative sources, the prospective employers themselves and trade and professional associations. Each is available on free loan. You borrow them just like a library book. Fast, personal service is provided by the 27 libraries located in all parts of the country. Order the listing of films and the directory of libraries from: Modern Talking Picture Service, 2323 New Hyde Park Road, New Hyde Park, NY 11040.

## TIPS FOR ACQUISITION OF CAREER MATERIALS

When requesting materials listed in INFORM and the CAREER RESOURCE BIBLIOGRAPHY, identify each item by title. Many of these organizations and associations handle thousands of pieces of mail each day and identification will pinpoint your request.

Most career information sources respond more quickly to a simple form letter or postcard on which you have identified the materials desired. Letters that require personal attention may pass over several desks before action is taken.

Make issues of INFORM and the CAREER RESOURCE BIBLIOGRAPHY available for student use. Personal collection of career information should be encouraged as it adds another dimension of student involvement to career exploration and decision making.

Purchase a stamp for your school or agency. Stamp a label and send along with information requests. Numerous producers have told the NCIC that this type of request can be answered the same day as received.

TELL EACH PRODUCER OR PUBLISHER THAT YOU LEARNED OF THE MATERIALS THROUGH THE NATIONAL CAREER INFORMATION CENTER . . .

INFORM

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